

MUNTAKHABU'T-TAWARIKH^{ed}

BY

'ABDU'L-QĀDIR IBN I MULŪK SHĀH

KNOWN AS

AL-BADĀ'ŪNĪ

VOLUME II.

(THE REIGN OF AKBAR, FROM 963 TO 1004 A.H.)

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Abu-l-Ma'ālī disguised himself, and going to the district of Dībālpūr, took refuge with a servant of Bahādur Khān who at that time held the government there. The man's name was Tulak, and he had at one time been himself a servant of Shāh [Abu-l-Ma'ālī]. So Tulak concealed him. But it so happened that this Tulak had one night a quarrel with his wife, who being vexed with him, went in the morning to Bahādur Khān and told him that Tulak was concealing Abu-l-Ma'ālī in his house, and that they were plotting together against himself. Bahādur Khān, mounting his horse, had Shāh Abu-l-Ma'ālī seized and sent him to Bairām-Khān, and Tulak he ordered to be punished. Bairām Khān entrusted Shāh to Walī Beg the Turkomān, and sent him off towards Bakkar. Walī Beg annoyed him very much by the way, and sent him towards Gujrāt, that from thence he might go to Mekka. There he committed a murder, and fled and joined himself to 'Alī Qulī Khān'. When Bairām Khān received information of this, he sent an order to 'Alī Qulī Khān that he should send him to Āgra. At the time that, in accordance with this order, he arrived at Āgra the power of Bairām Khān was already on the decline; Bairām Khān, then, with a view to dispelling the suspicions of the Emperor sent him for a time to the fortress of Biyāna. And, when he professed a resolution of ¹ Ghāzī", and ² ~~took him as the companion~~ him as the companion of making a pilgrimage to Mekka, he took him as the companion of his journey. But after a few days Abu-l-Ma'ālī separated from him also, and went to offer his adhesion to the Emperor. But, when of his extreme arrogance, he rode proudly up to him, this affair became the cause of his being imprisoned a second time, until he was sent to Mekka, as will be mentioned in its place³. It happened that, when, at the very time of the Accession, he fled from Lāhōr, Pahlawān Gul Guz his keeper committed suicide through fear of the Emperor's anger.

After the settlement of the decree for the Accession the imperial armies were levied against Sikandar [who was] in the mountain district. Sikandar kept up the war for three whole months, but was at last defeated. At this time Rāja Rāmchand⁴ came from Nagarkot to pay

¹ See p. 5.

² See text, p. 39. l. 6.

³ The most renowned of all the rājās of the hills. *Tabaqāt i Akbarī*, Elliot.

⁴ Instead of

his respects to Akbar, and had an interview with him. And the imperial standards on account of the rainy season, when they had arrived at Jālandhar, remained there five months.

Contemporaneously with the decease of the late king, and the Accession of the Emperor, Tardi Beg Khān commandant of Dihli had sent Mirzā Abu-l-Qāsim, the son of Kāmūrān Mirza,¹ with the Imperial work-shops, and some picked elephants, in company with Khwāja Sultān ‘Alī Wazīr Khān, and Mir Munshi Ashraf Khān, to pay their homage to the Emperor. In the same year Mirzā Sulaimān² came with Ibrāhīm Mirzā³ with the intention of conquering Kābul, and Mun‘im Khān,⁴ being besieged, sent particulars to the court. Then the Emperor appointed Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās, and Atka Khān,⁵ and Khizr Khān Hazārah⁶ with a company of men to bring the Queen Dowager and the other wives [of Humāyun] who were in Kābul.⁷ Now before the arrival of this troop [at Kābul Mirzā Sulaimān] had sent Qāzī Nizām of Badakhshān (who was one of his most honoured Ulamā and who afterwards was known simply by the title of Qāzī Khān,) on an embassy to Mun‘im Khān to make proposals of peace, only on the condition that they should at once insert his name also in the *Khutbah*. Mun‘im Khān accepted the conditions, as being the best remedy for the general distress, and Mirzā Sulaimān, being satisfied with this concession, returned to Badakhshān.

During the first days of the Accession ‘Alī Qulī Khān, having received the title of Khān Zamān, led an army into the district of Sambhal against Shādi Khān the Afghān, who was one of the Amīrs of ‘Adālī.⁸ And on the banks of the river Rahab⁹ he fought 13

¹ Kāmūrān Mirzā was brother of Humāyun the father of Akbar.

² Governor of Badakhshān.

³ His son.

⁴ Governor of Kābul and Ghazni. Erskine, *Humāyun*, 509; Elliot, V, 249.

⁵ See note on the page corresponding to p. 52 of the text.

⁶ A tribe which inhabited the Hindu Kush. Elphinstone, 304.

⁷ Humāyun, on invading India, left his family and harem at Kābul. Erskine, 509.

⁸ The nominal Emperor of India at the time of Humāyun's invasion.

⁹ Written *Rahat* with the four-dotted *t* by Firishta.

a severe battle against all Khān Zamān's available force, which consisted of two or three thousand horse, and defeated him. Khān Zamān was making preparations to dislodge the enemy, when, in the meanwhile, letters came from Dihlī, Āgra, and Atāwa, saying, that Hēmun Baqqāl with a murderous army, and elephants, and much wealth furnished by 'Adalī, having swept before him the Amīrs from the frontiers of Hindustān,¹ had arrived close to Dihlī with the intention of offering battle. Then Iskandar Khān the Uzbek from Āgra, and Qiyā Khān Kank from Atāwa, and 'Abdu-llāh Khān the Uzbek from Kālpi. and Ḥaidar Muḥammad Khān from Biṛāna, and others from the frontiers, came to Dihlī, and joined themselves to Tardī Beg Khān.² But Khān Zamān, remaining on the same side of the river Jumna, was not able to form a junction with them. And Pīr Muḥammad Khān Shirwānī,³ who had come from the imperial camp with a message to Tardī Beg Khān, went along with the victorious⁴ army. Near to Toghlaq Ābād [the ancient fortress] in the environs of Dihlī a sharp conflict occurred, and 'Abd-ullāh Khān the Uzbek, and La'ī Khān of Badakhshān, who were on the right wing, sweeping the hostile ranks before them, continued the pursuit as far as the towns of Houdal and Palwal, and took much spoil. But Hēmun, who with elephants huge as mountains had remained apart from the fray in the centre of the army, shouted out just as Ḥājī Khān came up from the direction of Alwar,⁵ and then attacked Tardī Beg Khān, who had but a handful of men, and in a single charge swept him before him; but he turned back for fear of treachery, and did not pursue the Moghul. At the time of evening prayer, when the Amīrs of the army returning from their pursuit [of the left wing of Hēmun's army] reached the camping-place, they, finding that Hēmun himself had settled down there, having drawn out softly from the city of Dihlī, ¹⁴ took immediately to flight. But Hēmun forbade his men to pursue them. And Khān Zamān by way of Mīrat'h⁶ joined this army

¹ i. e., the north-west of India, the term does not include Bengāl.

² The commandant of Dihlī.

³ Compare p. 2, note 3.

⁴ *Victorious* is a fixed epithet of the imperial army.

⁵ About 60 coses S. S. W. of Dihlī

⁶ Text, p. 59, p. 1. 5.

at Sirhind. The emperor when he heard this dreadful news appointed Khizr Khān Khwāja, the husband¹ of Gulbadan Bēgum the emperor's aunt, to meet Sikandar, and intending to extirpate Hēmun he made his glorious entry² into Sirhind. And there the scattered Amirs came to salute him. The Khān Khānān,³ who, although he was in disposition alienated from Tardi Beg Khān, still in spite of this used to call him "Toqān." *i. e.* "Elder brother," perceiving the cause of the defeat of that army to have been the treachery⁴ of Tardi Beg, and having succeeded in impressing this on the emperor's mind by bringing Khān Zamān, and many others, as witnesses to substantiate his accusation, obtained a sort of permission to put him to death. So at the time of afternoon prayer he went to the house of Tardi Beg Khān, and taking him with him, brought him to his own abode into the tent, and afterwards at the time of evening prayer he rose up on the pretence of performing the ablutions, and gave to some men, who were held in readiness for the purpose, the signal to slay him. So they made an end of Tardi Beg Khān.⁵ And in the morning, when Khwāja Sultān 'Alī and Mir Munshī did not come to the Diwān, he, suspecting them also of treachery, had them imprisoned together with Khanjar Beg, a relation of Tardi Beg Khān. But some time after they regained their liberty.

Then Hēmun in Dehli gave himself the title of Bikramajit, who was a great Rāja in Hindustān, from whom the people of Hind take their era, he lived 1600⁶ odd years ago. When he had done his best there to subvert the ordinances of Islām he came with 1500 elephants of war, and treasure without end or measure, and an immense army, to offer battle at Pānipat. He sent on his artillery before him, and the opportunity presenting itself to a com- 15

¹ Lit. "In whose net was &c."

² *Anglice* "retreated to."

³ *i. e.* Muḥammad Bairām Khān Turkomān. The *tārīkh* of his death is given on p. 45 of the text.

⁴ But see Elliot's note, V, 251.

⁵ Tardi Beg Khān was a noble of importance in the time of Humāyun, and one of his most *faithless* followers. Blochmann's *Ain i Akbari*, I, 318. He was a *Sunnī*. Bairām Khān was a *Shi'ah*, Badāonī, III, 190.

⁶ His date is 57 B. C. The date of the year in which the writer speaks is 964 A. H. And A. H. is 621. Thus $57 + 621 + 964 = 1642$, and the "odd years" of which he speaks are 42.

pany of the great Amīrs, such as Khān Zamān, Iskandar Khān and others, who were advancing as vanguard,¹ they took it at Pānīpat after some fighting. And Hēmmu raising the hopes of the Amīrs of the Afghāns, whose leader was Shādī Khān Muswām, with a suitable augmentation and a gift of lands, opening the door of his treasuries, and giving great largesses, tried to console the army for the loss. But the Afghāns, since they were sick of his usurpation, began to pray for his fall, and in impromptus kept saying things to this effect: "Welcome a vicissitude even against ourselves," consequently without delay he started from Pānīpat mounted on an elephant called "Hawāy," and came to the district of K'haramanda (where there is now a famous caravanserai), and on the morning of Friday the 10th of the sacred month Muḥarram² 964 A. H., (which day is also called Rōzi 'āshūrā) :—

"To friends it is a blessed date,

But unto foes unfortunate :"—

fighting and slaughter began between the Amīrs of the vanguard and the hosts of Hēmmu. The Emperor and the Khān Khānān on that day were drawn up in three divisions, and kept sending help to one another until news of the victory were received. And Hēmmu, whose army was all dispirited, and who set all his hopes on the elephants, surrounded by his chiefs charged the imperial hosts, and threw both right and left wings into great confusion. Then, at last, through the efforts of the archers and the scimitar-strokes of some avenging veterans that breach was healed, and the wavering fortunes of the day were retrieved. Then Hēmmu, bringing up all his mountain-like elephants to bear upon one point, charged the centre where the Khān Zamān was stationed. But the soldiers of Islām received him with a shower of arrows, and Hēmmu in those circumstances, with his head bare, like one bitten by a mad dog, kept
 16 shouting his battle cry "give and take," and also repeating a charm which he had learnt. Suddenly the arrow of death, which no shield can ward off, struck his squinting eye so that

¹ *Manqalāy*, for *manghalāy*, is a Moghul word meaning "forehead," then "vanguard," and must not be confounded with the Arab *munqalā* "ambassador."

² The first month of the Muhammadan year.

his brain passed clean out from the cup of his head, and he became unconscious. The troops near him, who still held out, when they saw this take place, fled. The army of the people of Islām pursued, and a general carnage ensued: and Shādī Khān Muswānī, who was in the van of the army, was slain. Shāh Qūlī Khān Maḥrum¹ happened to meet with Hēmun's elephant, and the elephant-driver said to him, "Do not kill me! Hēmun is riding upon my elephant." So they brought him as he was to the camp. And Shaikh Gadā-i Kambōh and the others, said to the Emperor, "Since this is your Majesty's first war against the infidels, you should flesh your sword in this unbeliever, for such an act would have great reward." But the Emperor replied, "Why should I strike him now that he is already as good as dead? If sensation and activity were left in him, I would do so." Then the Khān Khānān was the first to strike his sword into him, as an act of religious warfare, and following his example, Gadā-i Shaikh, and the others, deliberately made an end of him. Thus was fulfilled the saying, 'What is the good of killing one who is going to be burnt?'² And they found this *mnemosynon* for the date:—

"If through treachery, deceit, and fraud great Dehli fell,
By Fate's decree, into the hand of Hindu Hēmun;
Muḥammad Akbar, that Shāh whose glory reached the sky,
By help of God captured that black-faced Hindu Hēmun.
Creation's scribe on lasting tablet with pen of power
Wrote concerning that day: *He seized Hindu Hēmun.*³

Nearly 1500 elephants, and treasure and stores, to such an amount that even fancy is powerless to imagine it, were taken as spoil. And Pir Muḥammad Khān, and Ḥusain Khān, a relation¹⁷ of Mahdī Qāsim Khān, and many others, in consort with Sa'id Khān the Moghūl, pursued the fugitives from Dihli, and passing from Alwar they came up to the wife of Hēmun, who had with her elephants laden with gold. She herself gained the mountain and jungle ground in the district of Kuwa(?) and

¹ See Brigg's *Firishta*, Vol. II, p. 189.

² i.e., is going to Hell. Cf. text, p. 51, l. 10.

³ The words "bigrift Hēmu-rā" give the date 964. The final *n* of *Hēmun* is elided as in *Zamīdārān* for *Zamīndārān*, text, p. 51, l. 7.

Bajwāra,¹ but left the gold behind, the greater part of which the rusties² of the country of Bajwāra seized; still the part which fell into the hands of the army of the Faithful was so great that they gave it away by shieldfuls, and "*nizār-i-zarhā*" "scattering of gold pieces" was found to give the date (964). And on the road, which the Queen took, there had fallen such quantities of coins and ingots of gold, that for many a year travellers and passers-by used to find them. In this manner the treasures, which Shēr Shāh and Aslīm Shāh, and 'Adalī had amassed through a course of years, were dissipated:—

"O mortal! eat, dress, scatter, give,
For life must needs end in the grave:
When one in other spheres doth live,
It recks not all that this world gave!
O lay not up the hoarded gold,
For many with excessive toil
Have hoarded up, with greed untold,
Wealth, which another seized as spoil."

When, the second day after the victory, the Emperor came to Pānipat, he had a mināret built of the heads³ of the slain. From Pānipat, His Majesty came without delay to Dihlī, and caused the *Khutbah* to be proclaimed once more from the pulpit; there he stayed one month, and illustrious Amirs were appointed as governors of Āgra, Sambhal, and other towns. Then news came to Dihlī, that on the confines of Chamyārī, a place within 20 *cosses* of Lāhor, Khizar Khān⁴ had been defeated before Sikandar, and had arrived at Lāhor. His Highness had scarcely departed for Jālandhar, when
18 Sikandar had once more betaken himself to the mountains of Sawālik. Then the royal army going in pursuit penetrated as far as Disuha (?) and Dahmīrī.⁵

¹ Text, p. 54, l. 7. It is in the neighbourhood of the River Satlaj.

² *Guwār* is the Hindūstānī *ganwār* a villager, rustic, from *gānw*, Sanskrit *grāma* a village: the word recurs at p. 55, l. 21 of text.

³ Persian *az kallahā*, but compare Mirkhānd who says that Taimūr took a place, and *az sarhāy kushtagān manārkhā sākhtand*; and comp. our text, p. 169, l. 11.

⁴ Compare p. 7.

⁵ Comp. p. 2.

Be it understood, that with reference to the occurrence of events I do here from this point to omit trifling occurrences, and to occupy myself solely with events of general importance, in fact, mounted on a single horse to give the reins to the steed of my pen upon this open race-course, and to finish succinctly the history of these 40 years, from the accession of Akbar; but success depends upon God!

In the year Sikandar shut himself up in the fortress of Mankūt, and the great Andris day by day kept attacking him and pressing him sore. And especially Muhammad Husayn Khan, a relation of Mahdi Qasim Khan, was so persevering in these attacks that if Rastam² had been alive, he would certainly have acknowledged his merits. Moreover his brother Hasan Beg was killed. —

"Upon the top of thy mountain Hasan was slain,
Greater than of Katbala³ of thee is the bane."

And this perseverance, which was observed on the one side by the Emperor, and on the other by Sikandar, was the reason of the high estimation in which Husayn Khan was held, and raised him day by day to a higher rank, so that valuable lands⁴ were made over to him in fief, till at last he came into the government of Lāhor, and in many places wielded his sword with effect. When eventually the siege turned out of long duration, and corn became dear among the garrison, and the Andris of Sikandar one by one deserted him, and came to the imperial court, as for instance Sayyid Mahmūd Bārha, and others, he brought forward proposals of peace, and sent his son 'Abd ur-Rahmān, together with Ghāzi Khān Sūr, with a present of elephants to visit the Emperor,

¹ The Pers., *Khalāfat-panāhy* is a compound adj. meaning "belonging to him in whom the Khalifate takes refuge." i. e., "of the legitimate successor of the Prophet," meaning "of Akbar." It agrees with *julūs* "accession."

² Luckily for us our author did not attain success in this his endeavour. For, while from other authors we can learn the bare facts of history, it is to Badāonī that we look for those little pieces of gossip, which give us such an insight into the manners of the times. It is this fact that renders this work so extremely interesting.

³ Rastam a famous hero of Persian myths. See note to p. 51 of text.

⁴ A place in Irāq, famous for the murder of *Husayn* and *Hasan*, the sons of 'Alī.

⁵ *Arlak* is Turki for "a field."

through the intervention of Atka Khān and Pir Muḥammad Khān, on the 27th of Ramzān¹ in the year 964, and surrendered the fort. Then Akbar issued his firmān that Jounpūr should be given temporarily² to Sikandar in fief, and that as soon as the Khān Zamān³ should deliver the country before him [*i. e.* Bengal] out of the hands of the
 19 Afghāns, he should take his place. So Sikandar skirting the mountains came to Jounpūr. And when the Khān Zamān received possession of Jounpūr, Sikandar on the authority of a firmān asked for the district of Gour⁴ that he might bring it under his command. There all sorts of accidents befel him, and after some time through the game of Fortune such a position of the pieces⁵ came about that he even attached himself again to his old friends, and fickle Fate folded for him the carpet of gladness:⁶

“Fate’s chequered board is not ever kind,
 Nor can seed of joy be always sown,
 These possessions must be all resigned,
 Except mere dregs of joys which once were known.”

It may here be mentioned that during the siege Muḥammad⁷ Qūli Khān Barlās, and Atka Khān, and the other Amīrs brought the Balqīs⁸ of her day, the Queen Dowager⁹ and other ladies veiled with the veil of chastity, from Kābul to the camp. And on the 2nd of Shavvāl¹⁰ in the year nine hundred and sixty-four (964) the imperial army moved towards Lāhor. And during this march¹¹ ill-feeling arose on the part of the Khān Khānān against Atka Khān on account of one of the Emperor’s elephants having run into the

¹ The 9th month.

² *Bil’ifi*! which means in Arab. “actually” is here used in the Hindustani sense of “for a time.”

³ *i. e.*, ‘Alī Qūli Khān, p. 5.

⁴ Gour is a chief town of Bengal.

⁵ Referring to the popular game of chess.

⁶ *i. e.*, he died, *viz.*, two years after his appointment. *Akbarnāmah*.

⁷ Cf. p. 5.

⁸ The Queen of Sheba. See Al-Qor’ān XXVII, 20-45.

⁹ Her title was *Margam Makūnī*. Blochmann, p. 303.

¹⁰ The 10th month.

¹¹ *Yarūh* is Turki for “a march”, from *yurumeh* “to go”

Khān Khānān's tent; but Atka Khān came to Lāhor, and bringing all his sons with him to the Khān Khānān's tent, took an oath on the Glorious Word¹ [that the affair was a mere accident], so all suspicion was removed. In this year, through the intervention of Mullā 'Abdullāh Sultānpurī,² Sultān Ādam G'hakkar hastened to the Court to give in his adherence. And between the Khān Khānān and him a bond of brotherly love was formed, and in the presence of the Emperor himself a quarrel which had existed between Kāmal Khān and his brother's son³ ended in a settlement. Then Sultān Ādam returned to his usual place of abode loaded with honours and presents.²⁰ After the passing away of the rainy season the imperial army marched towards Dihli. And while camping at Jālandhar the nuptial bond was tied between the Khān Khānān and Her Highness Salimah Sultān Bēgam, daughter of Mirzā Nūr-ud-dīn Muḥammad, and sister's daughter to the deceased Emperor, when a great feast was prepared, and gifts and largesses were distributed.

And on the 25th of the month Jamādā 11⁴ in the year 965 the royal cavalcade alighted at Dihli.

And in those days the Khān Khānān used to come two days a week to the court, and in conjunction with the nobles, used to settle the important affairs of the kingdom. Now, among the incidents which happened at that time, was the story of the affection of the Khān Zamān for Shāhim Bēg. In brief it is as follows: In attendance on the late Emperor were two men of good looks, good disposition, and approved manners belonging to the corps of the Qūrchīs,⁵ the one Khūshḥāl Bēg, and the other Shāhim Bēg son of the *Sārbānbāshī*⁶ of Shāh Ṭahmāsp [of Persia]. Both of them were pre-eminent for beauty of disposition and appearance, the beau

¹ Al-Qor'ān.

² Called Makhdūm ul Mulk.

³ But in the text, p. 55, l. 1. Sultān Ādam is said to be uncle of Kāmal Khān. Consequently we must read here "between him and Kamāl Khān his brother's son." See also p. 3.

⁴ The 6th month.

⁵ The Qūrchīs (or *Koorchees*) were a corps of cavalry, composed of the *ancienne noblesse*, at the court of the kings of Persia of the Safavi dynasty. See also last line of this page of Text, and p. 56, line 11.

⁶ Chief officer in charge of the camels.

him to punishment. Then the Khān Zamān sent a confidential servant of his, Barj 'Alī by name, to the court to gloss over those faults of his, and to retrieve his shattered fortunes. He was first
 23 of all to repair to the dwelling of Pir Muḥammad Khān, who was the Khān Zamān's plenipotentiary, and whose abode was upon a tower, and to deliver his message. It may be that harsh language was contained in the letter, for Pir Muḥammad Khān threw him down from the top of the tower, so that he was dashed to pieces. Pir Muḥammad Khān with hardness of heart laughingly said, 'This little fellow has become a victim to his name.' When the Khān Zamān heard this news he set his heart on getting rid of Shāhim Bēg, and extemporised the following :—

"When Union turns away, and leaves the country,

The [cold] wind of absence knows no bounds,

My breast is burning with desire for Union,

[But] my place of resort is the shop of the stitcher of fur "

And so, in accordance with the exigencies of the moment, he gave him leave to retire to the district of Sarharpūr, (which is about 18 *cosses* from Jounpūr, and was fixed as the fief of 'Abd-ur-Raḥmān Bēg) that he might occupy himself there for a time in the pleasures of the chase, and return as soon as the wrath of the Emperor should be abated. So Shāhim Bēg, in company with 'Abd-ur-Raḥmān Bēg, spent his time at that town, where there was an artificial lake of pure water, and a most pleasant garden, and a beautiful building in the middle of the lake, (and a most delightful and tranquil spot it is!); until on a certain day they had a wine-party and became exceedingly elevated, when—in accordance with the following :

"Singing and love and constant drinking

Are all three things which to madness tend :

When wine and love their arms are linking,

God be our refuge! for bad's the end"—

he asked 'Abd-ur-Raḥmān Bēg for Ārām Jān. He brought forward the excuse that he was married to her, and so Shāhim Bēg became enraged with him, and all that friendship in a moment ended in hatred :—

¹ Viz. Barj "a tower," *nomen et omen*.

' In grief the Sun dropped blood at dawn,[†]
 Moon tore its face, Zohrah its tress,
 Night put on mourning black, and Morn
 Raised a cold sigh, and rent its dress."

During these few years the Khān Zaman with a small force had several brilliant engagements with the numerous forces of the Afghāns, and obtained the victory over them. The history of this

† Pers. *Bālākhāna*, whence the English word, formerly pronounced baleōny.

• $\bar{a} + h = 1 + 5 = 6$, $3 \times sh = 900$, $\bar{a} = 1$, $2 \times h = 10$, $y = 10$, $m = 40$, $2 \times d = 8$.
 Sum 969. And $969 - 6 = 963$.

Tarbiyat gūftan, here, as in Text 86, 17; 134, 9; 161, 12, is used in the Hindustani sense of "being favourably received."

† The word *shafak* means both "twilight", and "condolence", so that the expression in the original has the *double entendre* of "at dawn" and "through sympathy."

25 series of battles forms a model page in the annals of the time. Amongst them is the battle of Lak'hnou, in which Ḥasan Khān Bachgoti brought 20,000 men against the Khān Zamān, who had not assembled more than 3,000 or 4,000. Up to the moment when the enemy¹ crossed the river Karwi and attacked Bahādur² Khān, the Khān Zamān himself was engaged in taking a meal. When news was brought that the enemy was advancing to the attack, he called for a chess-board and kept playing at his ease. When he was told that the foreign troops had driven back his own men, he then at last called for his arms, and put them on. And, while the enemy was plundering his tents, and his whole army was in confusion, he ordered Bahādur Khān to retire; then he, with a handful of men, with drums beating, fell upon the enemy, repulsed them, and pursued them to a distance of seven or eight *cosses*. The slain he piled up in heaps, and then returned victorious. So, also, at Jounpūr he fought with the Bengālī,³ who called himself Sultān Bahādur, and had issued coin, and caused the *Khutbah*⁴ to be read in his name in Bengāl. This man advanced upon Jounpūr with between 30,000 and 40,000 horse, and the followers of the Khān Zamān were completely routed. When the Khān Zamān rose from table, the enemy found the cloth spread just as it was, and began to plunder. But afterwards the Khān Zamān with a small⁵ body of men brought destruction⁶ on the fortune of the Afghāns, slaying many and taking many prisoners; and such an amount of booty did he take, that his army was completely set up in stores. And, in truth, such was his kingly good fortune, that he, and his brother with his own troop, obtained such a series of victories on the eastern side of Hindustān, as has fallen to the lot of but few. And, had

¹ This seems to be an Indian use of the word *Ghanīm*, see Shakespeare's *Hindust. Dict.*

² That is, Muhammad Sa'id Shaibānī, younger brother of the Khān Zamān.

³ The *Gourī*, see note, p. 12.

⁴ See note, p. 1.

⁵ Lit. "a numbered band", like the Hebr. *m'ṭhēy mispār* "men of number," it means "a few."

⁶ For the peculiar idiom in which *az* is to be rendered by "on" cf. note to p. 57 (Text). Or the phrase may be translated literally "Extracted vengeance from", cf. *διενεχεν αποβουττας τινος*, and Hebr. *niphra' min* "was paid from" i. e. "took vengeance on."

they not shown the stain of rebellion upon the forehead of loyalty, these two brothers would have been on the path to a royal distinction. But, in the end, they sank all that perseverance and energy in the dust of degradation :—

“ For fifty years one may maintain a name,
But one base act will cover it with shame.”

And the rest of their acts will be mentioned in the years before us, if God, He is exalted, will it.

And in this year the Khān Khānān brought to punishment Muḡalīb Bēg, the son of Khwājah Kalān Bēg, a man who was not free from evil qualities, and inward vice.

And on the 17th of the sacred month of Muḡarram in the year 965, which coincides with the 3rd year from the Accession, the royal train adorned the city of Āgra. And in this year took place the appointment, removal, rise, and fall of Pīr Muḡammad Khān : and this is how it came about. Pīr Muḡammad Khān from being a Mullā had become an Amīr, and as has been related, he had become the closer and opener of every important affair of state, and finance, as vicegerent of the Khān Khānān. All the Pillars of the State used to go to his house, and but few obtained admittance. His opulence had reached to such a pitch that one day, in the course of going from Dihlī to Āgra, when the Khān Khānān went on an hunting expedition with Pīr Muḡammad Khān, the Khān Khānān asked his private purveyors : “ Is there no provision in store, for we are hungry ? ” and Pīr Muḡammad Khān on the spur of the moment said : “ If you will be pleased to alight, whatever may happen to be at hand shall be served.” So the Khān Khānān with his suite alighted under a tree, and 3000 drinking cups, and 700 porcelain dishes of various colours(?)¹ were brought out from the travelling-stores of Pīr Muḡammad Khān. Though the Khān Khānān was astonished, he let no sign of his astonishment escape him, but great jealousy found its way into his heart :—

“ Perhaps in this place you may chance to fail to see,
How many envious foes, and jealous friends there be.”

¹ In the text we should, possibly, read *būḡalamun* of various kinds, or colours.

27 When they arrived at Āgra, Pīr Muhammad Khān was indisposed for some days, and the Khān Khānān came to visit him. One of the servants, who was in the habit of keeping off people, both great and small, came to stop him, and said: "Be pleased to wait until your request has been made known, when you have made application you may come in;" on this the astonishment of the Khān Khānān knew no bounds, and he said:—

"For a wilful fool there is no cure!"

When this came to the ears of Pīr Muhammad Khān, ill as he was, he came running, and "after the destruction of Bozrah" begged forgiveness, saying: "Forgive me, for my Porter did not know you." The Khān Khānān answered: "Nor you either!" In spite of this, when the Khān Khānān came in, not one of Pīr Muhammad's household was dismissed except Tābir Muhammad Sultān his chamberlain, who had obtained that position with great difficulty. Praise be to God! for if the fortunes of that man be such what shall I say of myself!—

"O go not to the Sultan's Court,
For there indeed thou 'lt profit naught.
Let the gruff Porter's stern rebuff
For wisdom's warning be enough."²

And the Khān Khānān, after he had sat down for a moment, came out again, and Pīr Muhammad was left to meditate upon the affair. After two or three days the Khān Khānān sent to Pīr Muhammad Khān the following message, by the hand of Khwājah Amīnā³ (who afterwards became Khwājah Jahān), and of Mir 'Abd-ullāh Bakhshī, and a number of courtiers: "You will remember that you came to Qandahār in the position of an unfortunate student, and that when we found that you possessed ability and the quality of fidelity, and

¹ I. e. 'after the steed was stolen,' when it was too late. Cf. Roebuck's *Eastern Princes*, p. 137.

² Compare

Repulsed by surly groom that waits before
The sleepy tyrant's interdicted door.

Dryden's translation of Juvenal.

Kh. Amīnuddīn Maḥmūd of Harāt, financier and calligraphist.

when also some worthy services had been performed by you, we raised you, a mere student and beggar, from the lowest step among the degraded, to the highest grade among the exalted in 28 Sultanship and Khānship, and to the post of an Amīr of Amīrs; but, since the carrying of a high position is not in your capacity, nothing but suspicious rebelliousness and baseness remains in you. So we will take away from you for a time the insignia of your pride, that your base disposition and inflated brain may come to their senses. Now it is right that you should surrender the standard, and kettle-drum, and paraphernalia of pomp." So Pīr Muḥammad Khān, in accordance with this command, surrendered on the spot to some of the Khān's people those accessories of conceit (which have carried a host of ignorant men off their balance, and do so still, and have driven, and still do drive them, from the path of manliness and generosity, and have made, and still make, them associates of the Ghūls of the desert), and become the same *Mullā* Pīr Muḥammad that he was before; nay he became poorer still:—

"Whatever the rolling heaven gives is but a loan,
In a mill the white is but contingent¹ to the stone."

Soon after this they sent the *Mullā* to the fortress of Biyānah, and there he was confined. And from this place he wrote numberless pamphlets on the subject of proof by *ṭamānu*,² which is that made use of in the verse of the Qorān [XXI, 22]: "If there were in them gods beside God, verily both heaven and earth would come to ruin," and is a well known method of argument among logicians: and others besides addressed to the Khān Khānān, and thus made endeavours at reconciliation, and liberating himself; but all was in vain:—

¹ Arab. *ʿāriz*, accidental, contingent, *συμβεβηκός*.

² *At-tamānu* consists in two things rendering one another mutually impossible. In the verse in question are implied—that the ruler of heaven and earth can be only *one*--and that that *one* can be none but God alone. Two kings cannot rule over one land, and just so two gods cannot rule the universe. If they both wished to do something, their powers would come into collision in doing it; if their wills differed, they would mutually hinder one another. It may not be unprofitable to observe, that the same line of argument is adopted in Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, Bk. XII *ad finem*.

“The heart’s a glass, if broken, how repair the ill !

It is no earthen cup to be cracked and patched at will.”

After some days they sent him from Biyānah by order of the Khān Khānān, on a pilgrimage to the sacred Mekka: and he was still in Gujrāt, when the decline of the Khān Khānān’s¹ power began. Then he returned, and came to pay his homage to the Emperor, and having obtained the name of Nāsir-ul-mulk, he was appointed to go in pursuit of the Khān Khānān, as shall be recorded in its proper place² if God (He is exalted!) will. And the office of vicegerent of the Khān Khānān was transferred from Pir Muhammad Khān to Hāfi Muḥammad Khān Sistānī, who was also one of the Khān’s followers. And the following line is applicable to this occurrence:—

“The dog sits down in the sausage-seller’s place.”³

And Shaikh Gadā-i Kamboh, son of Jamāl Kambo-i (a poet of Dihli, who after the second defeat in India during the time of the exile at Gujrāt had come to the Khān Khānān) through the influence of the latter, they put over the heads of all the magnates of Hindūstān and Khurāsān, and appointed him to the high office of Qadr.* And the Khān Khānān, nay even the Emperor himself, was often present at his house at singing parties, where the most abject flattery rained down on all sides, and which became a regular hypocrisy-shop. And,—since, from the time of the establishment of I-lām in Hindūstān, God (praise to Him, and glorious is His Majesty!) has created the great Shaikhs of this country, just the opposite[†] in nature to the secular princes, viz., always peasant-

natured, servile in disposition, and low-minded, and since their pomp and glory has never consisted in smiting with the sword, but in flattering others, in spiritual hypocrisy, and ignominy, and the garb of dignity and honour has ever been too strait for the stature of their ambition—the chief Imāms, at this exaltation of Shaikh Gadā-i, about the eminence of whose family they had stories, went mourning from house to house, and so the Arabic Proverb “The death of the great has exalted me” became verified :—

“At my rival’s insolence I’m mightily surprised.

O may that beggar Gadā-i¹ ne’er be highly prized.”

And he drew the pen of obliteration through the grants of land and pensions of the old servants of the crown [*Afghāns*, Bloehm.], and to every one who bore the disgrace of coming to his levees he gave a *sayurgāl*,² but not unless. But still, compared with this [niggard] age, in which demurs are made to the giving of a single acre of land or even less, as *madad i ma’āsh*, one might call Shaikh 30 Gadā-i a very “world-giver.” Then the princes and nobles of the kingdom, as many as came, flew into a rage at the advancement, honour, and unseasonable exaltation of Shaikh Gadā-i, and some of them consoled themselves with these words :—

When a fool is exalted through riches,
In the assembly, above the wise and excellent,
He is still the last in all good qualities,
As though the accusative were to prevent the nominative.
If an Emperor sit humbled,
It is neither disgrace to him, nor praise to you.
Dost thou not see that the Sura *Ikhlaṣ*
Comes after “May the hands of Abu Lahab perish?”³

Said ironically.

¹ *Gadā* means a beggar.

² *Auqat* is a misprint for *auqāf*.

³ The Chagatāi word *sayurgāl* is translated by the Pers. *madad i ma’āsh*, i. e., “assistance of livelihood.” They were lands given for benevolent purposes, and were hereditary, thus differing from *jāqīr* or *tuyūl* lands, which were conferred for a specified time. Bloehm. 270.

⁴ Cf. p. 71, l. 7 of Text.

⁵ That is in the Qor’ān the glorious Sura 112, on the nature of God, comes after Sura 111, which speaks of Muḥammad’s unbelieving uncle Abu Lahab.

And Mir Sayyid Ni'mat Rusūlī, who has been mentioned, repeated the distich, and made it well known in mosques and monasteries. And in the mosque, and in Shaikh Gadā-ī's own tribunal they wrote up his disgraceful deeds, until he came to read them and had them erased. Still it was no good : and this is one of the lampoons :—

“Mention not Gadā-ī's name, eat not his bread
Since *beggary*¹ is bad, Gadā-ī's face is black.”

And some instances of his insincerity, and stupidity, and evil goings-on with respect to the Emperor were exposed, which will be mentioned in their proper place. And in these days the king studied under that paragon of greatness Mir 'Abd-ul-Latīf, who is one of the great Sayfi-Sayyids² of Qazwīn, and who came from the country of 'Irāq to India in the year 963, and with him he began reading the *Diwān*³ of “mystic language.” And 'Abd-ul-Latīf's able son, an Amīr endowed with excellent qualities, and commendable dispositions, in whom is reflected the truth of the Arabic proverb : “A well-bred son takes after his noble parents,” whose name is Mir Ghiyās-ud-dīn, and surname Naqīb Khān, a very miracle of knowledge in manners and customs, chronology, biography, and all subjects of conversation, one of the wonders of the day, and a blessing of the blessings of the age, a second Preserved Tablet,⁴ and who bears to myself, the writer 31 of these pages, the relation of co-temporary, fellow-student, and co-religionist, is at present in attendance on His Majesty, giving all his attention to reading history, and all books of verse and prose, both day and night.

And in the year 966 the capture of the fort of Gwālyār took

¹ Punning on the meaning of the word *Gadā-ī* (see preceding page).

² They were known “in Irān for their Sunnī tendencies,” Blochmann *Āin-i-Akbarī*, p. 447. They were, consequently, especially esteemed by our Author.

³ Probably the *Divān-i Hāfiz*, for Blochmann says “at that time Akbar knew not how to read and write, but shortly afterwards he was able to repeat some Odes of Hāfiz.” *Āin-i-Akbarī*, 448.

⁴ *Lauh-i mahjūz*, the Indelible Tablet on which, according to Mahometan belief, the transactions of mankind have been written by God from all eternity. It is referred to in *Qor'ān* vi, 38. The sixth great article of faith with a Moslem is God's absolute predestination of both good and evil.

place. A *ghulām* of 'Adalī,¹ Bukhail² Khān by name, who was besieged therein, sued for quarter and gave up the keys. The date will be found contained in the words *Fath-i bāb-i kil'ah-e Gwālyār*, "The opening of the gate of the fortress of Gwālyār." And in this same year Sangrām³ Khān, also a *ghulām* of [the late] 'Adalī, sold the fortress of Rantambhor into the hand of Rāi Surjan Hādā. The facts of the case are as follows. Before the Emperor made the city of Arra the goal of his prosperous journey, he had appointed some of the Amirs, such as Himū Bēg Moghūl, &c., to reduce the fort of Rantambhor. They besieged Sangrām Khān and ravaged the environs of the fortress, and the surrounding district, but were unsuccessful in their main object. But when Biyānah was given as a fief to Ḥabīb 'Alī Khan, one of the followers of the Khān Khānān, and Basāwar, and Tudah⁴ Tark 'Alī, which is better known as Todah Bihyūn, were given to Chaghatāi Khān, then Ḥabīb 'Alī Khān was honoured with the command of the army, and, superseding the Amirs of the surrounding district, was appointed to undertake the siege. When he had besieged the place for the space of one year, and reduced the garrison to great straits Sangrām Khān made proposals of peace, asking for some mediator to plead his cause with the Khāns, and requested special conditions for his own personal advantage. The Khāns chose my father, and that pilgrim to the two sacred precincts, Hājī Bhikan Basāwarī, and sent them to arrange this important matter. After much altercation, Sangrām Khān agreed to surrender the fortress on certain conditions, among which was one that he should receive part-compensation in the shape of ready-money, goods, and the most valuable of the furniture of his own house. But when the Amirs, since they had 32 not the money to pay down, practised delay and procrastination in the matter, and moreover there was some idea of after all taking

¹ On the death of Islām Shāh (A. H. 960) Muhammad Shāh Sūr 'Adil, commonly known as 'Adalī, had usurped the throne.

² Elliot's MS. of *Tārīkh-i-Alfi* has *Babhal*, Abul Fazl says *Sohail*. 'Adalī had given the command of Gwālyār to this *ghulām*.

³ Called Hājī Khān in the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*. Elliot, V, 260.

⁴ About 10 cosses S. W. of Rantambhor.

the fortress by assault, then¹ Sangrām Khān gave up the fortress to Rāi Surjan,² and got all he wanted from him: and this unfortunate army after so many years of effort got no thanks. Then Sangrām Khān in company with Hājji Khān Alwarī went to Gujrat. And Rāi Surjan strengthened the fort with the stores of provisions and arms. Thus by means of riches and address he became master of some also of the *pargannas* in the vicinity of the fortress. Then Habib 'Alī Khān and the Amīrs, after spending some time in ravaging the country, separated and returned to their fiefs

In this year Jamāl Khān, a *ghulām* of [the late] 'Adalī, who had become possessed of Chunār, sent a representative to court, to intimate that if they could send a man fitted to be trusted with the affair he would surrender to him the fortress, on which the Khān Khānān sent back, in company with Jamāl Khān's representative Mihr 'Alī Bēg Sildūz, (who afterwards attained the rank of Khān, and was made governor of the fortress of Chitor), with a farmān containing friendly terms.

And in those days I left home and, going from Basāwar to Āgra, with the intention of pursuing my studies, I made acquaintance with Mihr 'Alī Bēg, and remained at his house. And he greatly importuned my late teacher Shaikh Mubārak of Nāgōr (the mercy of God be upon him!), and my deceased father Shaikh Mulūkshāh (may he rest in peace!), to allow me to be his travelling companion, and carried the matter to such a pitch that he declared that he would lay aside the business³ of his journey, if I could not go with him. And both of these valued persons, whom I have named, in their generous friendship towards me, thinking it best for me to go, would take no refusal. So I, to gratify my teacher, although it was the height of the rainy⁴ season, and I was an inexperienced traveller, abandoning my studies, mounted the dangers of the jour-

¹ The apodosis is introduced by *καὶ* "and" as by *τε* in Herod. i, 116 *ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸν εἰπὼ δ' Ἀστυάγης ὁ δὲ ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ τε ἔφη γεγόνεναί.*

² The Ṭabaqāt-i Akbari says that he was a relation of Rāi Udī Singh, who is mentioned on p. 51 of our Text

³ viz., of making terms with Jamāl Khān for the surrender of Chunār.

⁴ *Barshakāl* for *Barshakāl*.

direful hurricane arose, which made the boat shake in every timber, and if the mercy of the Creator of land and sea had not been my shelter,^b

^a Kanyakubja or Canouj is one of the most ancient places in India. See Elphinstone, p. 233.

^b The 11th month.

^c He was at Jounpūr. See p. 17.

^d The reading is here doubtful.

^e The word *būdānī* in Pers. means "a sail," but in this Indo-Persian it is probably used with some reference to its meaning in Hindūstānī which is given by Shakespeare as "a shade to protect a candle from the wind."

THE END OF THIS PROVERBIAL REASONING.
That, 'Two of a trade can never agree.'¹

And the Khān Khānān, on account of the influence which Shaikh Gadā'ī exercised over his mind, did not receive Shaikh Muhammad in such a friendly manner as he ought to have done. On the contrary he held many preconcerted conversaziones, in which he brought forward the Shaikh to be a butt for the arrows of contumely, by bringing on the *tapis* a treatise of his, in which, describing the circumstances of his own exaltation, he says that in his waking moments he had had an interview and conversation with the Lord of Glory (glorious is His Majesty!), who assigned to him a superiority over the Repository of Prophecy,² (may God bless

¹ See Roebuck's *Eastern Proverbs*, p. 61.

² Muhammad the Prophet.

him and his family, and give him peace), and which contained other such follies equally contemptible and reprehensible from the point of view of reason or tradition. So the Shaikh much chagrined retired to Gwālyār, and occupied himself in the pursuits of his holy calling, contenting himself with a *jāgīr* which yielded a million sterling¹!

In this year Bahādur Khān, brother of the Khān Zamān, with the intention of subjugating the country of Mālwah,² which Bāz Bahādur, son of Suzāwal³ Khān at that time held, had advanced as far as the town of Sipri,⁴ when the Khān Khānān's troubles came about, so he turned back, and with the Khān Khānān's leave came, and attached himself to the Court. In the same year Ḥusain Khān came from Andarī to Āgra, and going with some of the gallant Commanders towards Rantambhōr performed some brilliant exploits at Sūpar,⁵ and thence he carried his operations to the castle of Rantambhōr, and defeated Rāi Surjan in battle and compelled him to shut himself up in that fortress. Against him he acquitted himself well; but on account of the confusion which reigned in the circles of the Khān Khānān, he left his circle of investment incomplete, and went to Gwālyār. And when thence he was making for Mālwah, the Khān Khānān recalled him to Āgra.

On the 20th of Jumādā-s-sāni⁶ in the year 967 the Emperor crossed the river Jumna on a hunting expedition. And some malevolent speakers, who were jealous of the absolute authority which the Khān Khānān enjoyed as the *Vakīl*, and especially Adham Khān (who on account of his being the son of Māhmud Atkaī held the post nearest to his person), and Čādiq Muḥammad Khān and others, seized the opportunity of misrepresenting to the Emperor certain words of the Khān Khānān. And in fact the Emperor

¹ A *kror*, or 10 million rupees, or *tankas* (?)

² For an epitome of the history of Mālwah see Elliot, V. 168.

³ Called Shuja' Khān Afghān, in the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*. He is called Shujāwal by Blochmann, p. 428.

⁴ *Sīrī*, *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*. Sipri was about half way on his road.

⁵ That is 'Sheepoor,' 120 miles S. W. of Āgra (Elliot).

⁶ The 6th month.

⁷ See footnote on the page of the Transl. corresponding to p. 52 of the Text, whence it will be seen that she ought to be called *Ankah* or *Anagah*.

himself (because he had not absolute power in his own kingdom, 36 and sometimes had no voice in some of the transactions relating to expenses of the Exchequer, and because there was no privy purse at all, and the servants of the Emperor had but poor fiefs, and were kept in the depths of poverty, while the Khān Khānān's were in ease and luxury) wished that the circle about him should be put on a different footing. But he had no power to accomplish this, until, in accordance with the saying "When God wills a thing, its causes are at hand," circumstances combined to bring about the desired result:—

"When the subject-matter is collected,
Then the act of verse-making is easy."

Close by Sikandrah-rao which is [more than] half-way to Dihli Māhum Ankah represented to His Highness, that the Queen Dowager, who was at Dihli, had fallen suddenly ill, and impressed upon him that he ought to direct his course thither. Shahāb-ud-dīn Aḥmad Khān the Governor of Dihli came to meet the Emperor, and they two in concert made mountains of mole-hills, and prejudiced his mind against the Khān Khānān:—

"Thy mole, and tutty-mark, and locks, and brow,
Are all banded together.
For the purpose of killing Mus'ūd¹
She is become an arraigner."

Eventually she made the following representation: "When the Khān Khānān learns that the imperial cavalcade is come to Dihli at my instigation, he will be sure to wish to avenge himself, and I have no power to resist him, so it is best that I should receive permission to make a pilgrimage to Mekka." The Emperor could not make up his mind to part with Māhum Ankah. So he allayed their terror, and sent to the Khān Khānān the following message: "Since without your leave and approval I have journeyed thus far,² all my attendants are in the uttermost terror. It is right, therefore, that you should show yourself amicably inclined towards them, and

¹ *Mus'ūd Bakk* a Persian Poet, see Sprenger *Catalogue of MSS. in library of king of Oudh*, p. 486.

² Of course this message is somewhat ironical.

so enable them to continue in my service with minds at ease." The Khān Khānān sent Khwājah Amīnā,¹ and Hājji Muhammad Khān 37 of Sīstān, and Tarsān Muhammad Khān, who were the centre and pivot of important affairs, to wait on the Emperor, to make apologies, and assure his Majesty of his continued fidelity, and good will. But these advances did not reach the door of acceptance, and the above-mentioned magistrates were not allowed to return. Then Shahāb-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān and Māhum Ankah, being determined to go through with the matter, spread abroad the news of the Emperor's alienation from the Khān Khānān, so that it reached the utmost publicity. Then the Amīrs one after another left Āgra for Dihli; and the affair is an exact parallel to that of the Sultān Abū Sa'id Moghūl with Amīr Chūbān, who was a vazīr of almost regal magnificence: an affair which is mentioned in the books of history. And so the well-known [Arabie] proverb was fulfilled "The world is like the course of the ass; when it goes forward it *does* go forward, when it goes back it *does* go back:"

When Fortune wishes to come to a slave,
 All strangers claim relationship with him.
 But when the time of prosperity turns away,
 His very door and wall become a sting to him.²

Qiyām Khān Kang was the first of the Amīrs who arrived at Dihli. And Shahāb-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān, and Māhum Ankah attached each one, as he came, more and more to the cause of the Emperor by holding out promises of high offices and fiefs: and with the greatest care and vigilance they applied themselves to strengthening the fortifications.

The Khān Khānān, who was at Āgra with all his devoted adherents, called a council. The advice of Shaikh Gadāi, with several others, was this, that before the balance of fortune should have turned against him he should set out, and get the Emperor into his power, so as to prevent his being accessible to the Khān's detractors. The Khān Khānān did not approve this advice, saying "Since the heart of the Emperor is alienated from me, any further friendly

¹ Comp. p. 20.

² *I. e.*, his own house turns against him.

38 intercourse in public is out of the question, but how could I possibly assume any other guise! for, after spending a lifetime in loyalty to his person, in my old age to put a dishonourable stain on the forehead of my fortune were to cause me an eternal disgrace." Now he had always had a desire to make a pilgrimage to Mekka and Medina, so he got things ready for his journey to Hījāz,¹ and set off for Biyānah, intending to go by way of Nāgōr. He told his intention to all his supporters, and gave them leave to go to the court. And Bahādūr Khān, who had been sent for from Mālwah² he allowed to go as their companion. He then released Muḥammad Amīn Diwānah³ from the prison in the fortress of Biyānah, and departed:—

"There is no permanence in any prosperity,
 However much you may have tried it:
 For lo! '*Prosperity*'⁴ read backwards is '*transient*,'⁴
 Read it and see for yourself."

And those, who had the Emperor's ear, represented to him, that the Khān Khānān intended to go to the Panjāb. So the Emperor sent from Dihli a message by the hand of Mir 'Abd-ul-Laṭīf Qazwīnī, saying: "Our intention in coming⁵ to Dihli was simply, to transact some important State affair on our own absolute authority. But since you have long had a desire to retire, and have taken the resolution of going to Hījāz, it is just as well that you should do so. And now you shall have as many pargannahs in Hindūstān as you please, and your agents shall forward the revenues of them to any place at which you may happen to be staying." When the

¹ Hījāz = Arabia petraea (Mekka and its territory in particular).

Najd = „ deserta.

Yemen = „ felix.

² See p. 29.

³ And also Shāh Abul Ma'ālī (*Akbar-nūma*), who was imprisoned there, see p. 4.

⁴ The letters of the first word (اَبال) read backwards give (الباق) the second.

⁵ This reminds one of the message of Richard II to his uncles, "I left London, not through any hostility to you, but to resume my power."

Khān Khānān heard the will of the Emperor, he went from Mēwāt to Nāgōr; and, with the exceptions of Walī Bēg Zu-'l Qadr, and Ḥusain Qulī Khān (who became Khān Jahān),¹ and Ismā'il Qulī Khān his brother, and Shāh Qulī Khān Muḥarrām, and Ḥusain Khān a relative of Mahdī Qāsim Khān, none remained with him. From Nāgōr he sent to the Court by the hand of Ḥusain Qulī Khān his paraphernalia of pomp, consisting of such kettle-drums and standards as he possessed. Also Shaikh Gadāī, at last on the confines of 39 Bīkānir, chose too to separate himself, and the hidden meaning of the following became manifest:—

“Every brother must part from his brother

(By thy father's life!) except the two stars *Al-Farqadāni*.”

The Emperor, on his way from Dihlī to the Panjāb, had reached the town of Jhujhar, when these insignia of power were brought to him, and their surrender pleased him much. At this halting place Shāh 'Abū-l-ma'ālī, who had come to pay his respects to the Emperor, wished, in the madness of his brain, to overtake² his majesty on horseback. The Emperor had him arrested and given in charge of Shahāb-ud-dīn Aḥmad Khān. And at the same stage Fīr Muḥammad Khān Shīrwānī, who was awaiting the proper season [for the pilgrimage] at Gujṛāt, having received information of the confusion of affairs, and of the causes of the Khān Khānān's dismissal, set off at once to the Emperor and did him homage, and received the title of Nāṣir-i-mulk. When he had received the insignia and standards of Khān-hood, he was appointed by the Emperor to go after the Khān Khānān, and pack him off as quickly as possible to Mekka without giving him any time for delay. He started off quickly enough, but remained at his leisure at Nāgōr, and after a few day's journey wrote a letter to the Khān Khānān as follows:—

“I came, in the heart the foundations of love were firm likewise,

My sorrow-laden soul is of sorrow-for-thee the companion likewise.”

The Khān Khānān wrote in answer: “Your coming was manly, but your delay, after having come near, is cowardly.”

¹ A title in reputation next to that of *Khān Khānān*. Blochm. 330.

² So too the Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī. Firishṭa says that he wished to remain mounted while saluting the Emperor. Elliot.

The Emperor, when he had returned to Dihli, sent for Mun'im Khān from Kābul, in order to invest him with the office of Prime-minister (*Vakīl*).¹

The Khān Khānān went from Nāgōr to Bikānīr with the intention of keeping an eye on the proceedings of Māldeo Rāja of Jodhpūr, who with a considerable force had made himself master of the road to Gujrat². But being very much annoyed, when he became aware of Pir Muḥammad Khān's pursuit of him, he became desperate, and at the instigation of some demon-like men turned to the Panjāb. His wives, family, and effects, together with his lawful heir Mīrzā 40 Abd-ur-raḥīm, (who was then but three years of age, but now holds the post of Khān Khānān, and Commander-in-Chief), he put for security into the fortress of Tabarkindh,³ which was a fief of Shēr Muḥammad Dīwānah, the reputed son of the Khān Khānān. But news came to the Khān Khānān, whilst at Dipālpūr, that the said Dīwānah had seized those effects and was behaving most treacherously to his adherents. Upon this he sent to Dīwānah one Khwājah Muzaffar 'Alī Dīwānah, (who afterwards became Muzaffar Khān), and Derwish Muḥammad Uzbek with sage and soothing words, [thinking] that "may be when he has repented of his base conduct, he will return to rectitude." But a dog had bitten Dīwānah:—

"O wise men stand on one side,
For *Dīwānah*⁴ is intoxicated."

Shēr Muḥammad sent Khwājah Muzaffar a prisoner to the Court, and this blow caused the Khān Khānān more despair than all the rest besides, so that starting from where he was, he set off for Jālandhar. Then Shams-ud-dīn Atkah Khān, and his son Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān, and Ḥusain Khān the relative of Shahāb Khān, and all the Amīrs of the Panjāb assembled in accordance with a farmān, and in the confines of the parganna of Dik'hdār,⁵ at a spot

¹ When he received the title of Khān Khānān. See p. 38.

² With the intention of attacking him. *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*.

³ I. e., *Sirhind*, Elliot V, 265.

⁴ *Dīwānah* means 'possessed,' 'mad.'

⁵ In the vicinity of Jālandhar, between the Sutlej and the Biyah, *Akbar-nāma*.

called Kanūr Phillour,¹ hemmed in the Khān Khānān. There a severe contest took place, in which Ḥusain Khān the relative of Mahdī Qāsim Khān distinguished himself; but unfortunately a sword-blow struck him in the eye so that one might say of him that he was "eye stricken."² He fell from his seat in the saddle, and being made prisoner was sent to the Court together with Walī Bēg, and his son Ismā'īl Qulī Khān, and several others of the chiefs; as will soon be mentioned. if God (He is exalted!) will After that blow the Khān Khānān fled, and immense spoil fell into the hands of Atkah Khān and his army. Among these things was a standard worked with pearls and gems, which the Khān Khānān had 41 had made, and intended to have sent to the most holy sepulchre³ (may mercy and favour rest on its inhabitant!). Of this Imām my lord Moulawī Jāmī (may his tomb be hallowed!) wrote those laudatory and descriptive couplets:—

Peace on the family of *Tā Hā*⁴ and *Yā Sīn*!

Peace on the family of the Best of the Prophets!

Peace on the Shrine, wherein there rests

An Imām, in whom sovereignty and religion are pre-eminent!"

'An Imām, yea in sooth an absolute monarch.

For the sanctuary of his door is become the *Qiblah* of kings.

King of the palace of Knowledge, Rose of the garden of Bounty,

Moon of the mansion of Majesty, the Pearl of the casket of
Contingency.

[Peace] on Ibn Musā Rizā, to whom from God

Is the name *Rizā*, because doing *God's will* was his habit."

¹ See Elliot V, p. 266, VIII, p. 107; Blochmann, p. 317.

² A pun. The Persian compound means "stricken by the evil eye," but grammatically it might also mean "stricken in the eye."

³ Of Imām Rizā, at Tūs in Khurāsān. Belfour's *Translation of Ali Hāzin*, 128.

⁴ *Tā-Hā* (which is the title of the 20th chapter of the Qur'ān, and is composed of two letters of the Arabic alphabet) is considered, and often used, as a name of the Arabian Prophet (of whom *Mustafā* and *Aḥmad*, as well as *Mohammad*, are also names); so likewise is *Yā-Sīn*, which is the title of the 36th chapter of the Qur'ān. Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, ed. Poole, London, 1871, vol. ii, p. 139.

Rizā means "Will."

They say that the banner cost nearly a *kror* of gold. And Qāsim Arsālān found the date of the event in the words, “*‘alam-i imām-i hashtum*,’ “banner of the 8th Imām.”² Atkah Khān sent it with the rest of the spoils to the Court, and it was put into the imperial treasury. One of the remarkable incidents of this year was that the Khān Khānān published as his own³ a *ghazal* of Hāshim Qandahārī, putting the lines into a different arrangement⁴; he ordered 60,000 tankahs of money to be paid to him by way of compensation, and asked if the sum were sufficient; Hāshim by way of an extempore joke said “Sixty is too little.” upon which he increased the sum by 40,000 and gave him altogether a complete *lac*. From it you would infer that the Khān Khānān’s star was setting, and as a matter of fact his power at this period was on the decline. The *ghazal* is as follows, of which the *Maṭla*⁵ is Hāshim’s:—

“What am I? one who has let go the rein of his heart;
 Who by the hand of his heart has fallen from his feet upon the
 road of trouble;
 Who is become like a madman in the skirts of the mountains:
 Who has without will of his own turned his head to the desert;
 At one time like a candle seized by the fire of his heart,
 At another like a wick fallen into the heart of the fire.
 I, Bairam, am free from care for little or much.
 Never have I uttered a single word *less* or *more*.”

¹ 70 + 30 + 40 + 82 + 45 + 700 = 967.

² The *Shī‘ah* (lit. followers) are the followers of ‘Alī, the husband of Fāṭimah, the daughter of Muḥammad. They maintain that ‘Alī was the first legitimate *Khalīfah* (successor to Muḥammad), and therefore reject Abu Bakr, Omar, and Othmān, the first three *Khalīf*-s, as usurpers. According to the *Shī‘ah* the Muslim religion consists of a knowledge of the true *Imām*. The twelve *Imāms*, according to the *Shī‘ah* are as follows:

(1) Hazrat Ali, (2) Imām Ḥassan, (3) Imām Ḥusain, (4) Zain-ul-Abidīn, (5) Imām Muḥammad Bāqir, (6) Jāfir Sādiq, (7) Musā Qāsim, (8) ‘Alī Musū Rīzā, (9) Muḥammad Taqī, (10) Muḥammad Naqī (11) Ḥassan Askarī, (12) Abu Qāsim. Hughes’ *Notes on Muhammadanism*, 170.

³ Cf. Martial. ii, 20. “Carmina Paullus emit recitat sua carmina Paullus.
 Nam quod emas possis dicere jure tuum.”

⁴ *‘ulj* is probably the Hindustani *ulajh*, ‘confusion,’ cf. p. 51, l. 5, text.

⁵ The two initial hemistichs are called the *Maṭla*.

This *maṭla'* also is one of Hāshim's:—

“Thy lip was smiling on account of the weeping eye that I have,

Thy heart was contented on account of the distracted state I am in.”

And in the same way the Khān Khānān, although he had nothing in his treasury, gave at one sitting a *lac* of *tankahs* worth in money and goods to Rām Dās of Lak'hnou, who was one of the musicians¹ of Aslim Shāh, and one that in music² and song you might term a second Miyān Tān Sin. This man used to be the Khān Khānān's companion and intimate associate, and by the beauty of his voice continually brought tears to his eyes. There was likewise a certain Hījāz Khān Badāūnī, who formerly was among the number of the Amirs of the Afghāns, and had a standard and a kettle-drum, and a pennon, and afterwards towards the end of his life retired from military affairs, and in the enjoyment of a very trifling pension pursued rectitude in the path of asceticism and devotion. To him in return for a *Qaṣīdah*, which in the *Maṭla'*³ he dedicated to the Khān, he gave a *lac* of *tankahs*, and made him Superintendent of the Government of Sirhind, and caused him to be appointed to that province. The *Maṭla'* of the *Qaṣīdah* is as follows:—

“When the seal of the ring of the heavens
Went down into the water,
The rim of its signet gave
A ruby-tinge to the ground.”

And so that saying of Khwājah Kalān Bēg came true, viz., “Heaven above⁴ is of course a good judge of poetry!” The sum of the whole matter is that 100,000 were to the liberal mind of the Khān as *one*. How different indeed to these base ones, who now have come to the surface of the water:—

“If the odour of fidelity thou perceivest from any one,
His foot thou shouldest kiss much more than that of kings.”

¹ The word *kalāwant* is the Sanskrit *kalāvat* a musician.

² *Vādī* is the Sanskrit *vādyā* music.

³ The two concluding hemistichs are called the *Maṭla'*. A *ghazal* is an Ode. A *Qaṣīdah* resembles the *Idyllium* of the Greeks.

⁴ That is, those in power are sure to appreciate your doggerel, if only you flatter them enough in it.

43 In the month Zi-'l-qa'dah¹ of this year, after the appointment of Atkah Khān to march to the Panjāb, the Emperor appointed Khwājah 'Abd-ul-Majīd of Harāt, with the title of Āṣaf Khān, to the Government of Dihlī. And then as it was the best thing to do, since Ḥusain Khān's father Walī² Beg and his brother Ismā'īl Qulī Khān were with the Khān Khānān, he delivered Ḥusain Khān² to Āṣaf Khān's keeping, and himself went to the Panjāb.

Mun'im Khān, in accordance with orders, having come from Kābul to the halting-place of Ludhiyānah,³ in company with Muqīm Khān sister's son to Tardī Bēg Khān (who afterwards became Shujā'at Khān), waited on the king. He received the title of Khān Khānān and was raised to the office of Prime-minister. And the saying came true, "One minister comes in and the other goes out." To this same halting-place came the news of the victory of Atkah Khān and the flight of the Khān Khānān towards the mountains of Siwālik. The captives were brought into the Emperor's presence, and he had them imprisoned. One of them, Walī Bēg, who had received mortal wounds, went from a [temporal] to an eternal prison, and they sent his head to Dihlī. Ḥusain Khān was committed to the charge of his wife's brother Malik Muḥammad Khān son of Mahdī Qāsim Khān, and the Emperor eventually took him into favour, and appointed to him as his fief Pātyālī, which is a town on the banks of the Ganges and the place of the birth and growth of ['A]mīr⁴ Khusrou (morey be upon him!)

After his defeat the Khān Khānān retired to Talwārah and shut himself up there. This is a very strong and almost inaccessible place in the mountains of Kushmāl,⁵ on the banks of the river Biyāh, the government of which belonged to Rājā Gobind Chand. The forces of the

¹ The 11th month.

² See page 33.

³ The *Ṭabaqūt-i Akbari* says it was *Jālandhar*.

⁴ Amīr Khusrū, the very Prince of Sūfī poets (or king as his poetical title of *Khusrū* implies), was of Tūtar origin. His father Amīr Seifuddin came to Hindustān, and settled at *Pātiālī* near Dihlī, where he married the daughter of Amād ul Mulk. His son Amīr Khusrū was born A. H. 651, A. D. 1253 Ouseley's *Persian Poets* p. 146.

⁵ Abu-l-Fazl says *Siwālik*. Elliot.

king drew near and joined battle. And Sulṭān Ḥusain Jalāir, a youth of great beauty, symmetry of form and bravery, fell in that battle. When they brought his head to the Khān Khānān, offering him congratulations, he calling to mind the youth's devotion to himself in times gone by, covered his face with a handkerchief and wept aloud, saying: 44 "A hundred reproaches on this life of mine! For through the misfortune of my soul so many youths are lost." Although the Hindūs of that place supported the Khān Khānān, fellow-feeling with the Moslem religion seized his skirt, so that turning his thoughts to the world to come, and purifying himself in the path of religion, he with a view to obtaining forgiveness for his shortcomings, sent without delay, and with the greatest humility, a message by the hand of Jamāl Khān, a *ghulām*, craving an audience with the Emperor. Then Mullā 'Abd-ullāh of Sulṭānpūr, whose title was Makhdūm-ul-mulk, set off with the intention of acceding to his request. But the armies still remained in the same position, and the coming and going of messengers continued, until Mun'im Khān, with a handful of intrepid men, came up and seized the Khān Khānān's person and brought him back. And all the Amirs, in accordance with orders, went to meet him, and all honour and respect, just as in former times, having been paid to him, he received a free pardon, moreover a special dress of honour and a horse were given to him. Then Mun'im Khān brought him to his own abode, and put all his tents and appliances at his service. And two days afterwards he received permission to proceed to Mekka with such an allowance for travelling expenses as beseemed his rank. And the Amirs and courtiers, both small and great, gave him every proper assistance in the shape of money, and that kind of stores which the Turks call *Chandogh*, and the Emperor having appointed Hājji Muḥammad Khān Sistānī as the Khān's escort, himself went for recreation and hunting towards the castle of Firūzah, going by way of Dihli; and on the fourth of Rabi'-ul-awwal¹ in the year nine hundred and sixty-eight (968) he made his glorious *entrée* into Dihli. And on the 12th of Rabi'-us-sānī he arrived at Āgra, the metropolis, by water.

¹ The 3rd month

Now they say that the Khān Khānān going with his retinue to Gujrāt by way of Nāgōr, passed through a jungle which abounded in 45 the prickly acacia, and the corner of his turban was caught in a thorn and fell from his head. And, whereas such an event is usually considered a bad omen, in the Khān Khānān's case it was turned to quite the reverse,¹ for Hājī Muḥammad Khān aptly quoted the following [couplet from Hāfiz]:—

“When in the desert through desire for the *Ka'bah*² thou dost
set thy foot.

If the thorn of the acacia hit thy head do not grieve.”

And so the Khān's gloom was turned to cheerfulness:—

“By speech knots are untied,
By speech the rust of the heart is polished off:
Many a knot which comes into our affairs from destiny,
To open which seems difficult,
Suddenly, by a graceful turn of language,
That business is converted into facility.”

When he arrived at Patan in Gujrāt, Musā Khān Fnlādi, governor of Patan, and Hājī Khān of Alwar, received him with the greatest respect, and gave themselves up to the necessary duties of hospitality. One day the Khān Khānān was taking a trip on the lake, called Sahnas Lang,³ where one named Mubārak Khān Afghān, (he belied his name!), whose father the Khān Khānān at the beginning of the conquest of Hindūstan had ordered to be put to death, being resolved on vengeance, at the hour of evening prayer, when the Khān Khānān was getting out of the boat, came with a lot of ruffians, on the pretence of meeting him, and with one blow of his gleaming dagger made him drink the draught of martyrdom. And the date was found as follows:—

¹ Compare the case of William the Conqueror's falling down on landing in England.

² The *Ka'bah* (cube) is the square stone building in the mosque (called *Musjid ul Ḥarām*, ‘sacred mosque,’ or *Bait-ullāh* ‘house of God’) at Mecca, which contains the Black Stone (*Ḥajr ul aswad*), round which the act of encompassing (*Tawāf*) is performed at the Pilgrimage (*Hajj*).

³ *Sahasnak* (Ṭabaqāt i Akbarī).

“ When Bairam put on the *Ihrām*¹ in order to encompass the *Ka'bah*,
 On the road he became a martyr,² not having obtained his desire.
 Of my heart I asked the date of his martyrdom,
 It said: *Muḥammad Bairām is become a martyr*³; ”

And the humble author of this history discovered an enigma 46
 “ He said, ‘ The rose is gone from the garden of beauty. ’ ”

Fragment.

“ From the bowl of Fortune, who has ever drunk a draught,
 To whom its drink has not been more deadly than poison ?
 How should the world make thee secure from vicissitudes,
 When itself is not secure from vicissitudes ?
 Heaven is a thief breaking into the tent of life,
 Alas ! its form is not bending for naught !
 Seek not repose, since for any one beneath the sky,
 The means for attaining this has never been collected.
 Only look at the blue⁴ garment of the sky, and learn,
 That this sphere can be nothing but a house of mourning.
 Put up with wounding, for to us from Fate
 Wounds have become our portion, but not the antidote.
 O Khāqānī, listen not to the deceptions of the world,
 For its own laws are not secured from revolution. ”

The Khān Khānān always had a sympathetic heart, and was devoted to the words of the great Shaikhs (God be favourable unto them !), and in his noble company the talk was ever of the Word of God, and the Word of the Prophet. One day he went to Sikrā to see a certain ascetic Dervish, and asked the meaning of this verse of the Qur’ān, [iii 25] : “ Thou exaltest whom thou wilt, and thou

¹ The pilgrim-dress.

² To die on the pilgrimage to Mecca is one of the twenty-one ways of becoming a martyr (*Shahīd*). See Herklot’s *Qanoon-e-Islām*, 71, 72.

³ The sum of the numerical values of the letters of *Shahīd shud Muḥammad Bairām* is 968.

⁴ *Gulshan-i-Khūbī* “ garden of beauty ” = 1018 ; take away *Gul* “ rose ” = 50, and the difference is 968.

⁵ *Blue* is looked on as a presage of evil.

of the Judgment-day, I said to my friend Mihr 'Alī Khān Bēg Sildoz,¹ "Though the rebels have met with their deserts yet it is not at all in accordance with the Sacred Law to kill and imprison their wives and children." Then he, on account of the pain offered to his religious feelings and conscience, spoke to Pir Muḥammad Khān to the same effect. He replied "In one single night all these captives have been taken, what can be done with them!" And the same night these plundering² marauders, having stowed away their Muḥammadan captives, consisting of the wives of Shaikhs, and Sayyids, and learned men, and nobles, in their boxes and saddle-bags, brought them to Ujjain³ and other districts. And the Sayyids, and 48 Shaikhs of that place came out to meet him with their Qur'āns in their hands, but Pir Muḥammad Khān put them all to death, and burnt them:—

" Having torn off the binding of the Qur'ān,
And made its leather into a kettle-drum,
It is very clear from this, that he is
An enemy of the Prophet."

All that had been the talk, with respect to the cruelty, insolence, and severity of Pir Muḥammad Khān was shown to be only too true. And that, which former generations have said, was verified, viz., *He who seeks learning in scholastic theology, is an infidel: and the Doctors of scholastic theology are infidels, to whatever sect they belong; we flee to God for refuge—from a knowledge which doth not profit, from prayer that is not heard, from a heart that is not humble, and a belly that is not satisfied.* Adham Khān sent the whole account of the victory to the Court, with some elephants under the escort of Ḥādik Muḥammad Khān. But most of the elephants, and of the ladies of the ḥaram, and the dancing-girls, and nauteh-girls, belonging to Bāz Bahādur, and all his precious things he kept for himself. On this account the Emperor on the

¹ Sildoz is the name of a Chaghtāi clan.

² Quzāq, whence the word *Cossack*.

³ The name in Sanskrit is Ujjayinī, i. e., "victorious": cf. Νικέπολις; and Alqāhirah "the victorious," i. e., Cairo the metropolis of Egypt.

1st of Sha'bān¹ in the year nine hundred and sixty-eight (968) set out from Āgra, and came to Sārangpūr, and having taken possession of the spoil, and arranged the affairs of that state, on the 29th of Ramzān² he came back to the foot of the throne.³

In this year the Khān Zamān,⁴ with the help of Ibrāhīm Khān Uzbek, and Majnūn Khān Qūqshāl, and Shāhīm Khān Jalāir,⁵ fought against Shēr Khān, son of 'Adali, who had succeeded to his father at Chunbār, and was come to Jounpūr with a considerable force. The Khān Zamān defeated him, and gained a signal victory. This is the second victory that was gained at Jounpūr. (On the 17th⁶ of Zī-l-hijjah of this year the Emperor came to Āgra.)⁷ And towards the end of this year, on account of the suspected insubordination of the Khān Zamān, the Emperor honoured Kaṛah with his presence, passing by way of Kālpi, and accepting the hospitality of 'Abd-ullāh Khān Uzbek the governor of that place. Then the Khān Zamān and Bahādur Khān came quickly from Jounpūr with every appearance of good will, and paid their respects to the Emperor, bringing with them elephants, and valuable presents, by way of compliment: then they, being honoured with a gift of horses, and dresses of honour, were dismissed to their fiefs. And *Peace is the best*⁸ gives the date of that event, with one unit too much:

“The Messenger of prosperity in this ancient world
Uttered the shout that: *Peace is the best.*”

On the 17th of Zī-l-hijjah⁹ of this year [A. H. 968], the Emperor returned to Āgra.

¹ The 8th month.

² The 9th month entitled *al-mubārak* “the blessed.” During this month a fast of the most rigorous kind is enjoined. On the night of the 27th of this month, called *Lail-ul-qadr* “the night of power,” the Qur’ān began to be revealed.

³ I. e., returned to Āgra.

⁴ ‘Alī Qūlī Khān, see p. 5.

⁵ Jalāir is the name of a Chaghtāi tribe.

⁶ This sentence, which is out of place here, is repeated on the next page of the text, where it is appropriate enough. It occurs in the latter position in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*.

⁷ These words give: $1 + 20 + 90 + 30 + 8 + 609 + 10 + 200 = 969$.

⁸ The 12th month.

And in this same year his reverence the Doctor Mulānā Sa'īd, the profound Professor of the age, came from Transoxiana; but, on account of want of appreciation on the part of his contemporaries, he could not remain in Hindūstān :—

“ Say O Humā,¹ never cast thy glorious shadow on a land
Where the parrot is less esteemed than the kite.”

And His Highness² the Qāzi Abn-l-Ma'ālī, the son-in-law of His Highness the Prince³ of Bukhārā, also, who was a master-builder in legal science, and a second glory of the Imāms, and in the Derwish order was one whose words and direction were followed, and who after saying the 5 customary prayers,⁴ used to make a practice of reading the Qur'ān aloud,⁵ came; and the compiler of this epitome read a few lessons in the beginning of the Sharḥi-Waqāyah with auspicious and blessed results in the presence of that great man. And Naqīb Khān, also, had the good fortune to study under him, and verily, he was a wandrons precious person and blessed (the mercy of God be upon him !)

On the 8th of Jumādā-l-awwal⁶ in the year nine hundred and sixty-nine (969) the Emperor went on a pilgrimage⁷ to the blessed tomb of that Pole-star of Shaikhs and Saints, Khwājah Mu'in-ud-dīn Chishtī (may God sanctify his glorious tomb!), and gave presents and alms to the people who waited there. And 50 at the town of Sāmbhar, celebrated for its salt-mines, Rāja Pahārah Mall, governor of Ambēr,⁸ together with his son Rāi Bhagvān Dās, came and paid his respects to the Emperor, who then espoused his

¹ *Humā* a bird of happy omen. Every head which it overshadows, it is supposed, will in time wear a crown.

² *Khuḍdām* (like *Bandagān*, p. 19, l. 3 *infrā*, and p. 235, l. 11 of Text) is merely a circumlocution for the person himself.

³ Comp. the expression '*Azīzi Miṣr* 'king of Egypt.'

⁴ *Viz* (1) Before dawn, (2) midday, (3) afternoon, (4) before sunset, (5) evening. These five hours of prayer are of divine institution (*farz*).

⁵ Read *Jahrānah*, not *Jahri-arah*, which is nonsense.

⁶ The fifth month.

⁷ *Ziyādat* is, of course, a printer's error, for *Ziyārat*.

⁸ The three great Rājput states are Jaipur or Ambēr, Jodhpūr or Marwar, Ūdīpūr or Mēwār.

gentle daughter in honourable wedlock. And Mirzā Sharaf-ud-dīn Husain, who held a fief on the confines of Ajmīr, he appointed to reduce the fortress of Mirt'ha, which is within 20 *cosses* of Ajmīr, and was held by Jaimall Rājput; and then returned quickly¹ to Āgra. Mirzā Sharaf-ud-dīn Husain gave quarter to the garrison, but stipulated that they should carry away with them none of their goods, or personal property. So Jaimall evacuated the place. But a certain Deo Dās one of Jaimall's soldiers contrary to the stipulations, at the time of withdrawing, with a considerable number of men set fire to the goods and chattels of the fortress, and offered an obstinate resistance. After raising many of the imperial soldiers to the grade of martyrdom, he himself went into eternal fire, and 200 of his renowned Rājputs went to hell.² Thus by the help of Shāh Budāgh Khān, and his son 'Abd-ul-muṭlab Khān, and other Amīrs the fortress was taken.

In those days Pīr Muḥammad Khān, who after Adham Khān went to the Court possessed absolute power in Mālwah, collected a great force, and led it against Burhānpūr and reduced Bijāgarh, a strong fortress, by force of arms, and made a general slaughter. Then he turned towards Khāndēsh, and was not content with himself, unless he practised to the utmost the Code³ of Changiz Khān [the Moghul, viz., *no quarter*], massacring, or making prisoners of all the inhabitants of Burhānpūr and Asīr,⁴ and then crossing the river Narbadah he raised the conflict⁵ to the very heavens, and utterly destroyed many towns and villages of that district, and swept every
51 thing clean and clear :—

¹ "In a day and a night" *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*! "In less than three days," *Abu-l-Faḥl*. "In three days," *T. Alpi*. Elliot.

² Our candid author was a pious Muslim, and speaks in fitting terms of *Kāfirs*!

³ It is very strange that Defrémery (*Nouveau Journal Asiatique*, Janvier, 1852, p. 76) should call *Taurat* a 'mongol word'; when it is known to all that it is *Hebrew*, and is used in the Qur'ān (in the form *Taurāt*) to denote the Pentateuch. But it is, of course, true that it is used of this code.

⁴ A well-known place in Khāndēsh. *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*, Elliot, v. 275.

⁵ The word used is '*arbadah*, because of its similarity of sound to the name *Narbadah*.

“ First they carried off every one from house and home,
 All money and chattels, whether hidden or exposed :
 They robbed the crown from the pulpit, as well as the turban
 from the preacher,
 They tore the eupola from the mosque, as well as the lamp from
 the Mināret.”

Then, while his men were in confusion,¹ and left far behind him, Bāz Bahādur Khān, who fled together with some of the rulers of that country, in conjunction with other *zāmīndārs* made an attack on Pīr Muḥammad Khān. He could not sustain the attack, but betook himself towards Mandū. In the course of his retreat, in company with all his Amīrs, he rode his horse into the river Narbadah. It chanced that a string of camels which were passing at the time, attacked his horse, and he went by water to fire.² And so the sighs of the orphans, and weak, and captives were his ruin :—

“ Fear thou the arrow-shower³ of the weak in the ambush of
 night,
 For the more he sighs through weakness, the stronger is the
 blow of his dart.
 When you have east Bīzhan⁴ into the well, do not sleep like
 Afrāsyāb,
 For Rustam is in ambush, and a crocodile is under his cuirass.”

¹ *Uljah* is a Hindūstānī word meaning “ confusion”, it occurs also p. 41, line 13 of Text.

² *I. e.*, was drowned, and went to Hell.

³ The arrow-shower is *prayer*, cf. the saying of some Christian writer that : Fervent prayer is like an arrow shot from a strong bow, it pierces the cloud ; but half-hearted prayer is like an arrow shot feebly, which falls to the earth without reaching its mark. “ The ambush of night ” means the darkness of anguish and oppression.

⁴ *Bīzhan*, (whom Sir W. Jones calls the Paris of Ferdusi), on account of his love adventure with *Manīzha*, daughter of Afrāsyāb, was made a captive by the Turks, and confined in a dismal dungeon, till he was delivered by *Rustam*. The crocodile represents Rustam’s charger named *Rakhsh*. The reader is referred to the *Shāhnāmāh* for further legends about *Rustam*. Here, as the Deliverer, he represents God, who avenges the cause of the helpless, when they cry unto Him against the oppressor. Cf. Exodus xxii. 23; Deut. xv. 9; xxiv. 15, &c.

And the Amīrs of Mālwah, seeing that their remaining any longer in that district was beyond the bounds of possibility, read the verse of flight¹, and came to the Court. For some time they were imprisoned, but eventually obtained their release. Bāz Bahādūr Khān again became possessed of Mālwah, but ‘Abd-ullāh Khān Uzbek, in conjunction with Mu‘in-ud-dīn Aḥmad Khān Farankhūdī and others, brought that country into subjection to the Emperor. Bāz Bahādūr for some time took refuge in Chitōr, and Ūdipūr, with Rāna² Ūdī Singh, but afterwards went away: and after remaining some time in Gujrāt he came to the Court, and returned to his allegiance. He was imprisoned for some time, and, though he
52 obtained his release, he did not escape the claw of death:—

“In this many-coloured garden there does not grow a tree,
Which can escape the molestation of the wood-man.”

And ‘Abd-ullāh Khān Uzbek remaining at Hāndiyah,³ the auxiliary⁴ Amīrs went to their fiefs, and Mu‘in-ud-dīn Khān came to the Court.

In this year Khwājagī Muḥammad Ḡālīb of Hirāt, grandson of Khwājah ‘Abd-ullāh Marwārīd, a well-known Wazīr, was appointed to the Ḡadr-ate.⁵ But he had not such absolute power [as his

¹ I. e., they fled. Compare the following two from *Bahū ud-dīn Zahīr*. (1) *Wakuntu ka-sūrat-i-l’-ikhlāḡ-i ammā ‘abarta, wakantu ‘anta ka-dī janūbah*, “And I was like the Sūrah of Sincerity [so pure and sincere] when you passed by, and you were like one ceremonially unclean [i. e., not fit to touch the Qur’ān].” (2) *Qara’nā Sūrat’as-salwān-i ‘ankum, bal ḥafiznūhā*, “We read the Sūrah of Parting without regret from you, nay, we learnt it by heart.” Sūrah exii see p. 23, is called *Sūrat-ūl’-ikhlāḡ*, but there is not one called *Surat’us-salwān*. The latter expression is imitated from the former which is proverbial. So the expression “the verse of flight” (possibly too with some reference to Al Qur’ān xxxiii. 16) is after the analogy of the phrase “the verse of the Throne” meaning Al Qur’ān ii. 256.

² Rāna is Hindi for Rāja; and fem. Rānī (text, p. 17, l. 6) for Rājñī. Ūdī is the Hindi *Udaya*.

³ Spelt *Hindia* in the maps.

⁴ *Kūmākī* (or *Kūmākhī*) means ‘auxiliary’. The words are *Chaghatāi*—*Tūtar*, see Pavet de Courteille, *Dictionnaire Turk-oriental*, p. 476; and C. DeFrémery, *Nouveau Journal Asiatique*, Février—Mars, 1852, p. 283.

⁵ See p. 22, note.

predecessors] in the matter of conferring and granting *Aukāf*,¹ and *Mada'ī ma'āsh* : and his authority was more that of a clerk.

In this year Sayyid Bēg, son of Ma'cūm Bēg, came as ambassador with a letter from Shāh Tahmāsp [of Persia], containing all the conventional condolences [for the death] of the late Emperor. That letter shall be given hereafter *in extenso*, if God (He is exalted!) will. He was received with all honour and respect, and the Emperor presented him with a sum of seven *lacs* of *tankahs*² and a horse, and dress of honour, besides all the hospitality and kindness, which the Amīrs showed him, so that he went back from Hindūstān with gifts and presents without number.

On Monday the 12th of Ramzān³ of the year 969 Adham Khān through pride, and presuming on his favour with the Emperor, and being jealous because he had taken the premiership from Māhum Ankah⁴ and given it to Atkah Khān (surnamed A'zam Khān, who on his arrival from the Punjāb had been made Prime-minister) at the suggestion of Mun'im Khān and Shihāb-ud-dīn Aḥmad Khān,⁵ and some others, who were jealous of Atkah Khān, cut him in pieces [as he sat] at the head of the Diwān. Then with his sword in his hand he swaggered in, and took his stand at the door of the royal

¹ *Ibidem*.

² *Tankah*, called *Tūka* in Bengāl, is there at the present time the name for *rupee*.

³ The ninth month.

⁴ Ferishta (Briggs ii. p. 211) says that 'a nurse's husband, and her male relations are called Atka [Blochmann *Atgah*]: the wet-nurse herself in Turkī is called Anka [Calcūta Chaghatūī Dict. and Blochmann pronounce *Anagah*]: a foster-brother is called Koka [or with the affix of unity, *Kokaltāsh*, which Ab-ul-Fazl writes *Gokaltāsh*].' Whenever, then, a Persian Text, as here, has *Atkah* after the name of a woman, it must be read *Ankah* or *Anagah*. Akbar had three nurses, *Māhum Anagah* mother of Adham Khān and Muḥammad Bāqī Khān; *Pīchah Jān Anagah*, wife of Khwājah Muḥṣūd 'Alī a servant of Akbar's mother; and *Jījī Anagah* wife of Shams-ud-dīn Muḥammad Atgah Khān (the *Atkah Khān*, whose death is here recorded). Ab-ul-Fazl says, that after the fall of Bairām Khān, Māhum Anagah, by whose machinations that result was brought about, became *de facto* [if not *de jure*] prime-minister, while the ostensible minister was *Mun'im Khān*.

⁵ A Sayyid of Nisāpūr, and a relative of Māhum Ankah.

inner apartments. Then the Emperor also seized a sword, and coming out, asked him, "Why did you commit such an act?" He answered, "A disloyal¹ fellow has met with his deserts." Then they bound him hand and foot, and cast him down from the top of the terrace of the palace, and since he still breathed the Emperor commanded them to throw him down a second time. By chance it happened that the murderer was buried one day before his victim. And so that disturbance died down. And one date is *Two violent deaths took place*,² and another, by way of a riddle, is :—

"From his violence A'zam Khān lost his head."³

The second is exactly correct, but the first is one too many. And some one else said as follows :—

"The army's greatest⁴ Khān, A'zam Khān,
Whose equal none saw in this age,
Went to martyrdom in the month of fasting,
He drank fasting the draught of death.
Would that he had been martyred one year later,
For then the year of his death would have been *Khān Shahīd*."⁵

And when she had presented the food of the fortieth⁶ day of mourning for Adham Khān, Māhim Ankah, through grief, joined her son.

¹ In the text read *nā* instead of *tā*.

² $6 + 4 + 600 + 6 + 50 + 4 + 300 = 970$.

³ *Zulm* 'violence' gives 970. The 'head' of *A'zam* is *A*, i. e. 1, subtract this from 970, and you get 969 the date.

⁴ Punning on the name *A'zam*, which means 'greatest.'

⁵ I. e., 'Martyr Khān' = 970.

⁶ On the 39th day after the death they cook, during the day, *polāū*, a dish made of rice, meat, stale butter clarified (*ghī*), eurdled milk, spices, &c.; and at night they prepare plenty of curries, *tulun* (fried food), *polāū*, &c. (i. e., such dishes as the deceased was in the habit of eating during his life), arrange them in plates, together with various aromatic spices &c., some of the clothes, and jewels of the deceased, which they deposit on the spot where the individual gave up the ghost, and over them suspend to the ceiling a flower-garland. Some foolish women believe, that on the fortieth day the soul of the dead leaves the house, if it has not done so previously: and if it has, it returns to it on that day, takes a survey of the above articles, partakes of such as he takes a fancy to, swings by the flower-wreath, and departs. These sayings and doings, however, are all innovations, and consequently unlawful. *Qanoon-e Islām*, 424.

In this year my late, lamented, father (may God have morey on him!), the Shaikh Mulūkshāh, on the 27th of Rajab in Āgrah, through liver-complaint, transferred the baggage of existence from this transitory world to the eternal kingdom. I carried his corpse in a coffin to Basāwar and buried him there. I found the date as follows :—

“The Title-page of the Excellent of the world, Mulūkshāh,
That Sea of Knowledge, that Source of Generosity, and Mine of
Excellence,
Since in his time there proceeded from him a very World of
Excellence,
The date of the year of his death comes out: *a World of
Excellence.*”¹

And by a curious coincidence the Pir, who had been his patron, viz., Shaikh Panjū Sambhali, who had a great following, and a few of whose excellencies will be mentioned, if God will, in the sequel to this work, in this same year attained union with the True Beloved, and the following was found to give the date:—

54

“The Perfection of Truth and Religion, Shaikh Panjū,
Whose place the Garden of Paradise became,
By way of enigma the date of his death
Is got out from his heart-attracting Name.”²

And another *mnemosynon* for the date is *Darwīsh dānishmand* “the learned Dervish” (may God have mercy on him!).

In this year Mun‘im Khān, the Khān Khānān, and Muḥammad Qāsim Khān, the High Admiral, on account of their being accomplices in the lawless and base act of Adham Khān, and for other reasons, passing the ford of *Pūyah* in a boat at the time of evening prayer, with the connivance of certain poor *zamīndārs*, in company with two or three horsemen, went towards Ropar³ and Bajwārah⁴

¹ *Jahān-i fazl* = 3 + 5 + 1 + 50 + 80 + 30 + 800 = 969.

² By taking the numerical values of the letters in *Shaykh Panjū*, omitting P which is not included in *Abjad*, we get 969.

³ On the river Satlaj.

⁴ P. 10.

by the skirts of the mountains. Thence they continued their flight towards Kābul, where Ghanī Khān, son of Mun'īm Khān, was governor, and eventually came to the *pargana* of Sarūt, which is in the Dōāb, the fief of Mir Muḥammad Munshī. Qāsim 'Alī Khān, [and] Asp¹ Julāb Sistānī, governor of that *pargana*, a donkey of a fellow, recognizing in their mode of action in the jungle signs of flight, with a number of ruffians and whole *posse comitatus*, came and seized both of them. Then he sent the news to the people of Sayyid Maḥmūd Bārha, who happened to be in the neighbourhood. The latter appointed a number of his sons, and friends, to accompany them, and sent them with every mark of honour and respect to Āgra. The Emperor commanded a number of those about his person to meet them, and bring them to his presence. Then at his own request he reinstated the Khān Khānān in his office of Premier under even better conditions than before. So the Khān Khānān, in conjunction with Shihāb Khān and Khwājah Jahān, continued to conduct public affairs.

In this year Mir Muḥammad Khān Atkah,² surnamed Khān Kalān, went with a considerable force to the aid of Kamāl Khān³ 55 G'hakkar into the territory of the G'hakkars, and after a battle took prisoner Sultān Ādam the paternal uncle of Kāmāl Khān, who has been already mentioned.⁴ His son, Lashkāri by name, fled to Kashmīr, and was afterwards captured, and both father and son⁵ died a natural death. Then the whole district was entrusted to Kamāl Khān, and he hastened to do homage to the Emperor at Āgra.

One day the Emperor made a great feast, and Khān Kalān wished to present a *qaṣīdah*, which in his vanity he had called *Gharrā* [splendid], in the presence of the Amīrs and nobles and great poets. As soon as he had recited the first line of the first couplet as follows :—

¹ *Asp* means "a horse," hence the wit of calling him "a donkey."

² Elder brother of Atka Khān (*A'zam Khān*).

³ A farmān had been issued that the territories of the G'hakkars should be divided between him and Sultān Ādam. But the latter resisted this division of territory. Elliot, V. 279.

⁴ See above, p. 13.

⁵ The Akbar-nāmah says that the son was put to death. Elliot, V. 280.

“Thanks be to God that *I* have returned
After conquering the G’hakkar”—

suddenly ‘Abd-ul-Malik Khān, his relative, (while the Emperor was giving all his attention to the *qaçīdah*, which was in fact the cause of the issue of the invitations, and in return for which Khān Kalān *expected* a great gift), came forward and shouted out “My Khān you ought to have said *we* returned, for there were other *expectants* besides yourself.” At which the whole company fell on the back of their heads¹ with laughter. Then Khān Kalān threw his turban on the ground and exclaimed “My Liege! satisfaction from this little incapable, who has marred the results of all my labour!” And one of the witticisms of the time is this verse which ‘Abd-ul-Malik made for his signet ring:—

“When you increase ‘*Abd*’ by ‘*Malik*’
You must put ‘*Alif Lām*’ between.”

And Mullā Shīrī, the well-known Hindū poet, has a *qaçīdah* of eulogy and satire dedicated to him; and this is one of the couplets in it:—

“If a rustic² confront you, get out of his way,
For you are a gentleman, and ought not to confront a rustic.”

In this year Maulānā ‘Alā’-ud-dīn Lārī, author of notes in explanation of the “‘*Aqā’idī nasafī*,” came from the Khān Zamān’s³ 56 to Āgra, and applied himself to the study of the sciences, and founded a school of worthless persons, the date of the foundation of which is given by the words *Madrasah-e Khas*⁴ “A school of the worthless.” Then he went on a pilgrimage, and from that journey he travelled to the other world (God’s mercy be upon him!).

In this year the affairs of Kābul fell into confusion, and several Governors, becoming marks for the arrows of promotion, and then

¹ Anglicè “split their sides.”

² ‘*Abd*’ is ‘servant’ and ‘*Malik*’ is ‘king,’ ‘*Abd-ul-Malik*’ means ‘servant of the king.’ But there is perhaps a further meaning of an unedifying nature.

³ The same word that is used in p. 10, l. 2; see note on that passage.

⁴ 40 + 4 + 200 + 60 + 5 + 600 + 60 = 969.

of disgrace, in a short space of time felt the effects of the ups and downs of fortune. Ḥaidar Muḥammad Khān, *Ākhtah-bēgī*,¹ on his coming to Hindūstān from his own quarter, had been promoted to the government of Kābul. The Khān Khānān, Mun'im Khān, on account of the bad disposition of Ḥaidar Khān, now wrote for his own son Ghanī Khān to come, and then appointed him to supersede Ḥaidar Khān. But Ghanī Khān, through his depravity, followed in the footsteps of Ḥaidar Muḥammad Khān, and committed many discreditable actions. For instance, without any cause he imprisoned Tolak Khān Qūchīn,² who was one of the chief Amīrs. But he in turn fell into his hands, and experienced the lash of the hemistich :—

“The drink, that thou givest others, thou thyself shalt drink.”

When with a hundred strategems Ghanī Khān effected his escape, and, breaking his word, and oath, brought a considerable force to bear against Tolak Khān, who without waiting to fight made for Hindūstān: then Māh Jūjak Bēgum, (mother of Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, the son of the Emperor Humāyūn, who was at that time ten years of age), with the concurrence of Shāh Walī Bēg Atkah, and Fazā'il Bēg the Blind, brother of Mun'im Khān, whose eyes Mirzā Kāmran³ had put out,⁴ and his son Abu-l-Faṭḥ Bēg, closed the fort of Kābul against Ghanī Khān. So he was compelled to go to Hindūstān, and, on account of his undutifulness towards his father, being unable to find road or way, fled, as an exile⁵ and wanderer, to Jounpūr, until at last he escaped from the disgrace of existence. Now the afore-mentioned Fazā'il Bēg was

¹ The officer in charge of the geldings, not to be confounded with the higher title *Ātbēgī* (from the Turkish *āt* a horse). Blochmann, *Āin-i Akbarī*, 432, n.

² He began his career under Bābar, joined Humāyūn on his return from Persia, accompanied him to India, and after the Emperor's death became a supporter of Akbar. Compare p. 3, where he is called *Qūrchī* (comp. p. 13 n.) His correct appellation seems to be *Qūchīn*. He is called *Qūchīn* in the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*.

³ Humāyūn's brother.

⁴ See Erskine ii, 336.

⁵ The reading of this word in the original is doubtful.

“ A partridge eat an ant, a hawk came and asked satisfaction
 of the partridge,
 Afterwards an eagle came, and did the same by the hawk,
 A hunter shot an arrow at him, and took his life,
 The rolling sphere one day brings down dust on the hunter.”⁶

The northern portion of the tract which is included in the branches of the Hindū Kush

· I. e., killed him too.

⁵ Known of old by the name of Jūsāī. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*.

⁶ According to Elliot's translation of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* “Mun'im Khān defeated and scattered her forces at the first attack.” He, or his MS., is evidently in error.

⁷ For a parallel instance of primitive notion of retribution, see Mishnāh, *Abōth*, ii: Hillel saw a skull floating on the water, and said to it ‘Because thou madest others to float, thou hast been made to float: and, eventually, they, who made thee to float, shall themselves float.’—The Persian idiom here is

When Shāh Abu-l-Ma'ālī returned from Mekka he went towards the Court. Suddenly near Jālwar, at the instigation of Mirzā Sharaf-ud dīn Ḥusain, he took to rebellion, and went about laying his hands on everything he came across. This Mirzā Sharaf-ud-dīn Ḥusain had at this time fled from Āgra, and Ḥusain Qulī Khān, Čādiḳ Muḥammad Khān, and others had been sent in pursuit of him, as will be mentioned shortly, if God (He is exalted!) will. Then Ismāīl Qulī Khān and Aḥmad Bēg and Iskandar Bēg, relatives of Ḥusain Qulī Khān, went in pursuit of Abu-l-Ma'ālī, who entered the fortress of Nārnoul, and, seizing the treasures of that place, distributed them amongst his own party. And after that his brother Khānzādah (whom they also called "king of libertines") was captured in the confines of Nārnoul by Muḥammad Čādiḳ Khān and Ismāīl Qulī Khān, who went in pursuit of him. So, being helpless, he turned from Hindūstān and went towards Kābul. And coming into the district of the Panjāb by the jungle-side, with the concurrence² of their attendants, he killed Iskandar Bēg and Aḥmad Bēg, who had got separated from the Amīrs, and then wrote a petition and sent it to the Bēgum Māh Jūjak Bēgum, mother of Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm. It contained professions of regard for the late Emperor, and of the sincerity of his own fidelity, and in the beginning of it the following couplet was written:—

"We are not come to this door, for the sake of pomp and grandeur,
We are come here as a refuge from the evil of circumstances."

The Bēgum wrote in answer to him:—

"Show kindness and alight, for the house is thy house."

peculiar; *var-āwardan* "to bring on" when used of *destruction* takes the prep. *az* "from" before the thing on which the destruction is brought. *E. g.*, in the episode of *Sohrāb* we find:—

Ba-zakhm-ī sar-ī gurz-i sindān-shikan

Bar-ārad damār az du čad anjuman.

"With a stroke of the end of his anvil-smashing mace *he brings destruction on* two hundred battalions." So too in p. 25, line 17 of our Text, see p. 18 n.

¹ Shāh-e lawandān.

² Some of those under their command had been formerly in the service of Mirzā Sharaf-ud-dīn Ḥusain, and now had bound themselves by an oath to desert Aḥmad Bēg and Sikandar Bēg whenever Abu-l-Ma'ālī should be met with. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*. See p. 60 of our Text.

He married the Bēgum's little daughter; and then, assuming the management of affairs, at the instigation of some conspirators, such as Shūkūn son of Qarāchah Khān and others, slew the helpless Bēgum, and martyred Haidar Qāsim Kōhbar, who for some time had been Shāh Wāli Bēg's successor as [the Mirzā's] irresponsible lieutenant. His brother Muḥammad Qāsim Kōhbar he imprisoned. 59 And when a considerable body of men bound on their girdles to avenge the Bēgum, and punish him, a savage fight took place within the fortress of Kābul, in which he drove them out. And Muḥammad Qāsim, having effected his escape, went to Badakhshān, and instigated Mirzā Sulaimān to expel Shāh Abu-l-Ma'ālī; Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, also, sent some of his people to urge him to come: as will appear later on.

In this year Mirzā Sharaf-ud-dīn Ḥusain—who is of the fourth generation from his Reverence:—

“He, who is acquainted with the *Freedom of God*,
Is the Lord of the *Free*, (though) the *Servant of God*” :—

after the return from Makka of his illustrious father Khwājah Mu'in-ud-dīn (son of Khwājah Khāvind, son of Khwājah Yaḥā, son of Khwājah Aḥrār, God rest their souls!), and after his father's receiving all honours went from Nāgōr to Āgra the metropolis. And through the baseness of some envious persons (may their names and marks be blotted out from the page of the world!), without any apparent reason conceiving a suspicion, he went off towards Nāgōr.² Then the Emperor sent Čādiq Muḥammad Khān, and a body of men, together with Ḥusain Qāli Khān³ in pursuit of him, with instructions to try first conciliatory measures, and, if those failed, to extirpate him. Then he, handing over the empty fortress of Ajmīr to Tīr Khān Diwānah, hastened to Nāgōr.⁴ But Diwānah deserted the fortress, and went and followed his principal. Then Mirzā Sharaf-ud-dīn, having met with Shāh Abu-l-Ma'ālī

¹ ‘Uḇaid-ullāh means ‘little servant of God.’ Aḥrār means ‘the free.’

² Ajmīr and Nāgōr, which were his *jāgīrs*. Akbar-nāmah. Elliott V, 282.

³ He had received a grant of Mirzā Sharaf's *jāgīr*.

⁴ The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* also has Nāgōr. But *Abu-l-Fazl* says *Jālōr* which, as Elliot remarks, the context shows to be correct.

at Jālōr (who, as has been related, was on his road from Mekka to the Court), they so arranged matters together, that Shāh Abu-l-Ma'ālī should go against the people¹ of Husain Qulī Khān, who were at
 60 Hājipūr, and passing that way, should bring Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm from Kābul, while Mirzā Sharaf-ud-dīn should do what he could [to prevent rebellion] where he was. But Shāh Abu-l-Ma'ālī, on hearing the news of the pursuit of Čādiq Muḥammad Khān and the other Amirs, turned aside and betook himself to Narnoul, where Mir Gesū was governor. Him he made prisoner, but not meeting with any further success, except being able to seize some gold, since he saw the way to the Panjāb and Kābul open to him, he pursued his original design. And Aḥmad Bēg and Iskander Bēg,² separating from the army of Čādiq Muḥammad Khān and Ismāil Qulī Khān,³ went after him without delay, and overtook him. And a body of the servants of Mirzā Sharaf-ud-dīn Husain, whom these two leaders had attached to their cause and perfectly trusted,⁴ sent a rascal named Zamānah Qulī to Shāh Abu-l-Ma'ālī in great haste, with a message to the effect that if he would remain at a certain place, they would make an end of these two leaders as soon as ever they arrived :—

“ You may ascertain in one day the attainments of a man,
 Up to what point on the ladder of sciences he has reached ;
 But be not confident as to his heart, and be not deceived,
 For the wickedness of the heart may remain unknown for years.”

When they drew near, Shāh Abu-l-Ma'ālī on the one side, and these domestic enemies on the other, sprang out of ambush, and brought both the Amir under the pitiless sword. And their old retainers, when they saw what had taken place, fled like frightened deer or

¹ When he went in pursuit of Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, he left his wives and family at Hājipūr. *Al-Bar-nūmah*.

² Relatives of Husain Qulī Khān. Elliot V, 234.

³ Brother of Husain Qulī Khān.

⁴ They had formerly served under Mirzā Sharaf-ud-dīn, and were in reality devoted to him. Now they were serving under Aḥmad Bēg and Sikander Bēg, and had bound themselves by an oath to desert to Abu-l-Ma'ālī, as soon as he could be attacked. *Tabiqat-i-Akbari*.

to divorce her, as is shown in the story of Sultān Abū Sa'īd and Mir Chobān and his son Damashq Khwājah. Then 'Abd-ul-Wāsi', reading the verse¹: "God's earth is wide"—

"To a master of the world the world is not narrow"²

bound three divorces³ in the corner of the skirt of his wife, and went to the city of Bīdar in the kingdom of the Dakkan, and so was lost sight of; and that virtuous lady entered the Imperial Ḥaram. Then Fātimah, at the instigation of her own father-in-law urged that the Emperor should become connected in marriage with other nobles 62 also of Āgra and Dihlī, that the relation of equality [between the different families] being manifested, any necessity for 'unreasonable preference might be avoided.

At this time, when one day the Emperor was walking and came near the Madrasah-e Bēgum, a slave named Fūlād, whom Mirzā Sharaf-ud-dīn Ḥusain, when he fled and went to Makka, had set free, shot an arrow⁴ at him from the top of the balcony of the Madrasah, which happily did no more than graze his skin. When the full significance of this incident was made known to the Emperor by supernatural admonition and the miracles of the Pirs of Dihlī, he gave up his intention.⁵ The Emperor ordered the wretched man to be brought to his deserts at once, although some of the Amīrs wished him to delay a little until the affairs should be investigated, with a view to discovering what persons were implicated in the conspiracy. His Majesty went on horseback to the fortress, and there the physicians applied themselves to his cure, so that in a

¹ Al-Qor'ān IV, 99. The word used here for "wide" is the fem. of his own name Wāsi'.

² *Omne solum forti patria est.*

³ "Ye may divorce [your wives] twice, and then either retain them with humanity, or dismiss them with kindness. But if he divorce her [a third time], she shall not be lawful for him again, until she marry another husband. But if he [also] divorce her, it shall be no crime in them, if they return to each other." Al-Qor'ān II, 229, 230.

⁴ In this, as in most other events, the native historians, while agreeing in the main facts, are wonderfully at variance with regard to details. See Briggs' *Perishta* II, 215, and Elliot V, 285.

⁵ Viz. of marrying any other ladies of Āgra and Dihlī.

And when he had appointed one Ummēd 'Alī, a trusty follower, as administrator of the Mirzā's affairs, he returned to Badakhshān.

In this year Jamāl Khān, a follower of 'Adalī,¹ had given up the fort of Chunhār to Fattū² (another of 'Adalī's followers), whose fame had reached the Imperial Court. When the latter had sent a petition to Court (offering to surrender the fort), Shaikh Muḥammad Ghous (of whom Fattū was a devoted disciple), and Āḡaf Khān (who is the same as Khwājah 'Abd-ul-Majīd Haravī³) went and took peaceful possession of the place. They committed the fort to the guardianship of Ḥasan Khān Turkmān, and sent Fattū to do homage to the Emperor, by whom he was received with all honour.

About this time took place the death of Shaikh Muḥammad Ghous. While at Gujrāt he had by means of inducements and incitements brought the Emperor, at the beginning of his reign, entirely under his influence as a teacher, but when the truth of matters was fully enquired into, he was obliged to flee with all speed. And Mullā Ismā'il 'Atā-i Mu'ammā-i, one of the Shaikh's trusty friends and disciples (Be on him what may!) found the date in these words: *Bandah-e Khudā Shud*.⁴ "The Lord's servant is no more."

64 While the compiler of this *Muntakhab* was at Āgra occupied in acquiring the usual branches of knowledge, the Shaikh came in the dress of a Faqīr, with great display and unutterable dignity, and his fame filled the universe. I wished to pay my respects to him, but when I found that he rose up to do honour to Hindūs, I felt obliged to forego the pleasure. But one day I saw him riding through the bazaar in Āgra. A great crowd accompanied him, before and behind, and to return their salutations, and humble gestures, he was obliged continually to bow on every side, so that he had not a moment's leisure to sit upright in his saddle. Although he was 80 years of age a wonderful freshness, and remarkably fine colour, were observable in his complexion (God be merciful unto him!).

¹ Comp. p. 5 note.

² See Text, p. 34: l. 10.

³ See Text, p. 43: l. 2.

⁴ $2 + 50 + 4 + 5 + 600 + 4 + 1 + 300 + 4 = 970$.

became the Sovereign's confidant. He showed an enterprise, and economy, such as was never before exhibited, and the monetary matters of the Dirān became more settled. He was in his turn succeeded by Todarmal. And during the time of the influence of Māham¹ Ankah and Adham Khān, and the Bēgum, and I'timād Khān the chief eunuch (who was a man of sense and discretion). Mīr 'Abd-ul-Ḥayy aptly quoted the following tradition from the *Nahj-ul-balāghat*, which is attributed to Amīr² (may God accept him!), but others attribute it to that noble paragon the late 'Alam-ul-hada' of Baghdād. "He said (Peace be upon him!) "A time will come on men, when none will become favourites but profligates, and none be thought witty but the obscene, and none thought weak but the just: when they shall account the alms a heavy imposition, and the bond of relationship a reproach, and the service of God shall be a weariness unto them. and then the government shall be by the counsel of women,³ and the rule of boys, and the management of eunuchs." From this event to the time of my writing this a whole age passed!

"Ah what a difference 'tis between
What now is and what has been."

In the year 971 Khwājah Muzaffar 'Alī Turbatī⁴ received the title of Khān, and was made Minister of Finance, and they found Zālim⁵ "oppressor" to give the date. Meanwhile day by day a rivalry in matters general and particular went on between the Rāja and him.

66 And a certain wit adapted the old verse:—

"A dog of a Cāsbī is better than a Çifāhānī,
Although a dog is a hundred times better than a Cāshī:"

in the following manner:—

"A dog of a Rāja is better than Muzaffar Khān
Although a dog is a hundred times better than a Rāja."

¹ Comp. p. 36 of Text.

² Khusrū (?)

³ Cf. Is. iii. 4.

⁴ *Turbat* is the name of a tribe in Khurāsān. Blochm. 348.

⁵ 900 + 1 + 30 + 40 = 971.

When the Amīrs complained of the Rājā to the Emperor, and requested his dismissal, he returned answer "Every one of you has a Hindū¹ to manage his private affairs. Suppose we too have a Hindū, why should harm come of it?" And a foolish fellow invented the following jewellers-posie concerning the Rājā :—

"He who of Indian affairs made a mull
Was the Rājā of Rājas Todarmal."

In this year Qāzī Lāl, the wittiest of all good fellows and boon-companions, was sent for from the town of Baran under some pretext or other, and delivered up to punishment. The words *Qāzī Lāl*² give the date.

In this year Ghāzī Khān Tannūrī,³ one of the great Amīrs of Adalī, who had been for some time at the Court, once more took to flight and went to Hatīyah. In the neighbourhood of Gaḍha he brought a considerable force to bear against Āṣaf Khān and gave battle. He was slain on the battle-field, and Āṣaf Khān, having it now all his own way, marched against the district of Gaḍha-Katan-gah.⁴ This district at that time contained 70,000 inhabited villages, and its metropolis was the fortress of Chourā-gaḍh⁵. But in former times the metropolis had been the fortress of Hoshang-ābād, which was built by Sultān Hoshang Ghōrī king of Mālwa. Rānī Durgāvatī by name, a lady of great loveliness and grace, and in the prime of beauty, who held the government of the place, came against him with 20,000 horse and foot, and 700 powerful elephants, and fought an obstinately contested battle. Many valiant souls on either side, after striving and struggling beyond all limit or measure, at a message from some arrow or pitiless sword, vacated their bodies. An arrow hit the queen in a mortal part, and when she was 67

¹ When Bābar arrived in India the officers of revenue, merchants, and work-people were all Hindūs. Erskine's *Bābar*, p. 232.

² $100 + 1 + 800 + 10 + 30 + 1 + 30 = 972$, which seems to be one too many.

³ So called, also in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, Bloch, p. 367. But in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* he is called *Sūr*. Elliot V, 288. A Ghāzī Khān *Sūr* was killed in the time of Humāyūn, Blochmann, p. 384.

⁴ Comp. p. 77, lines 7 and 11. of Text.

⁵ A place about 70 miles west of Jabalpur. Blochm. 367.

on the point of death. she signed to her elephant-driver to put an end to her agony. Nevertheless the tricks of her bad luck did not deliver her from ruffians. Ah yes!—

“ Every foul fetid beast
Finds his foul fetid feast :”

[and again] :

“ A Christian’s well may not be pure, it’s true :
’Twill do to wash the carcass of a Jew !”

Āḥaf Khān marched against Chourā-gaḥ, and the son of the afore-said queen, after fighting for his life, joined¹ the queen. So much treasure fell into the hands of Āḥaf Khān and his soldiery, that the Creator alone is competent to compute its amount. On the strength of this wealth Āḥaf Khān set up the pretensions of a Qārūn² and a Shadād, until eventually he went under-ground³ :—

“ Though thy corn and wealth be ne’er so great,
All thy coffers full, thy barns be sate ;
Boast not ! on the Judgment-day thou’lt find,
Poisonous serpents round thy wealth entwined ”

On the 12th of the month Zī-qa’dah⁴ of this year, the Emperor went on an elephant-hunt towards Narwar, and after taking many elephants by means of wonderful contrivances, even in the midst of the rainy season, passing by Sārang-pūr into the country of Mandū, at the end of the month Zī-ḥijjah⁵ he encamped in that district. And ‘Abd-ullāh Khān Uzbek, by reason of some defalcations of which he had been guilty, withdrew his family from Mandū, and took the road for Gujrāt. And, for all that Muqīm Khān (who on that march received the title of Shujā’at Khān) went to him,

¹ Or to retain the cold irony of our author, (a Moslem speaking of a Hindū), we may say that, “ he rejoined the ladies.”

² Equivalent to those of a Midas and a Croesus.

³ Of course with reference to the story of Corah who is called Qārūn in the Qor’ān.

⁴ The eleventh month of the Muhammadan year.

⁵ The twelfth month.

and offered conciliatory measures seasoned with good advice, ‘Abd-ullāh Khān would not accept them :—

“ If a place to *take* it thou canst find,
 Thy counsel, may be, it will *take*.
 But what mark, if the ear of the mind
 Be dull, can eloquence then make ?”

‘Abd-ullāh Khān for a short time made a stand at Harāwal, but when news of the approach of the Imperial cavalcade reached 68 him, he surrendered to the force of circumstances the greater part of his followers and family and children and goods and chattels, and sending before him only what was absolutely necessary, by a hundred stratagems managed to reach Gujrāt. There he took refuge with Chingiz Khān, a dependent of Sultān Mahmūd of Gujrāt, who had succeeded Sultān Mahmūd in the government of that province, and had become possessed of great pomp and power. The Imperial army went in pursuit of him as far as the confines of Gujrāt, and threw his haram and renowned elephants into confusion,¹ and made them prisoners, and brought them to the Emperor. The remainder became a prey to their enemies, viz., the countrymen and landowners.² Now the state of civilization in Gujrāt in the time of Chingiz Khān, they describe as such, as it had not³ been during the reign of former kings; and the demand for men of learning and excellence was such, as to exceed all imagination; and any soldier or traveller or stranger who came and sought an interview or chose to enter his service, had no further need of anything, nor of the patronage of any one else. And they say that he used daily to give away among his people five or six dresses of honour from his private wardrobe, each single dress being never worth less than 70 or 80, or at any rate 50 *ashrafi*. And one of his Hātimisms⁴ was this, that one day he went out with his courtiers. ‘Abd-ullāh Khān Uzbek being of the number, and on this occasion two or three vessels full of fine stuffs and precious jewels were presented

¹ Text pp. 41, 13 and 51, 5.

² Sanscrit *bhūpāl*.

³ Supply *na*.

⁴ Hātim Tāi was famous for his liberality.

to him : no sooner had he seen them, than he gave them up to 'Abd-ullāh Khān Uzbek. And another instance of Chingiz Khān's liberality is the following ; Shāh 'Ārif Ḥafavī Ḥusainī (who is now at Lāhor, and renowned for the gift of dominion over *Jinns*) possessed great treasures, which he used to give away to people. Now it is said, that he had received all these treasures and hoards from Chingiz Khān, and that all the money he gave away bore the stamp of Chingiz Khān (but God knows !).

At this time Mirān Mubārak Shāh of Burhāmpūr sent ambassa-
69 dors to the Emperor who accepted his homage. And I'timād Khān¹ the chief eunuch accompanied them, and brought the daughter of Mirān, with suitable gifts and presents, to the Court. And Muqarrab Khān one of the Amīrs of the Dakkan came and did homage to the Emperor. And in the month Muḥarram² of the year nine hundred and seventy-two (972) the Emperor went from Mandū to the district of Nālehah.³ He appointed Qarā Bahādur Khān to the Government of the district, and himself went on a hunting expedition by way of Ujain, Sārang-pūr, Barōdah, and Gwālyār, and on the 3rd of the month Rabi'ul-awwal⁴ returned to his capital. Twins, Ḥasan and Ḥusain by name, were in this year born of one of his wives, and in the course of one month went to the other world.

In this year the building of the city of Nagarchīn took place. On this subject one of the nobles, at the time of the composition of the *Alkar-nāmah*, ordered me to compose some lines, which I here insert without alteration :—

“ When⁵ the Architect of the workshop of invention, through the promptings of original genius, suggested to the lofty thoughts of the absolute monarch, who is the builder of the metropolis of the world, and especially the artificer of the shrine of Hind, that, in accordance with [the verse] :

¹ See p. 63, *supra*.

² The first month.

³ A town in the territory of Dhar in Mālwa, on the route from Mow to Mandū.

⁴ The third month.

⁵ Our author here gives us a specimen of his stilted style which, happily for us, he does not usually adopt. (In l. 12 read رآء for رآء)

“The world-upholder, the world to hold, doth know,
One place to uproot, and then another sow :”

he should make resting places for the glorious imperial cavaleade, by graciously building at every stage, and on every clod of soil, where the air of the place was temperate, its fields extensive, its water sweet, and its plains were level—and what choice was there! for cool spots, and pleasant dwellings, and fragrant resting places, and sweet waters, with a view to preservation of the gift of bodily health, and with a view to the possibility of an evenly-balanced condition of the soul, all of which may possibly be conducive to the knowledge and service of God, are of the number of the six necessities of existence; and especially at a time when some of the royal occupations such as exercise and hunting, were therein involv- 70 ed—for these reasons, in this year of happy augury, after his return from his journey to Mālwah, when the friends of the empire were victorious, and the enemies of the kingdom had been conquered, before the eyes of a genius lofty in its aims, and the decision of a mind world-adorning, it befell, that, when he had made a place called G'h'rāwālī (which is one *farsang* distant from Āgīa, and in respect of the excellence of its water, and the pleasantness of its air, has over a host of places a superiority and a perfect excellence) the camping-place of his imperial host, and the encampment of his ever-enduring prosperity, and when he had gained repose for his heaven-inspired mind from the annoyances incidental to city-life, he spent his felicity-marked moments, sometimes in *chougān*-playing, sometimes in racing Arabians dogs, and sometimes in flying birds of various kinds; and, accepting the building of that city of deep-foundations as an omen of the duration of the edifice of the palace of his undecaying Sultanate, and as a presage of the increase of his pomp and state, his all-penetrating firmān was so gloriously executed, that all who obtained the favour of being near to his resting-place, and were deemed worthy of the sight of his benevolence, one and all built for themselves in that happy place lofty dwellings and spacious habitations, and in a short time the plain of that pleasant valley under the ray of the favour of his Highness, the adumbration of the divinity, became the mole on the cheek of the new bride

It is one of the traditional wonders of the world, that of that city and edifice not a trace now is left, so that its site is become a level plain—"Profit then by this example ye who are men of insight!" as the author of the *Qāmūs* has said: "Of seven or eight cities, called Maṇṣūrah, or Maṇṣūriyyah, built by a mighty king,² or measured 71 arch of pomp in their time, at this time not one is inhabited:" "Will they not journey through the land, and observe what has been the end of those who were before them?"

In this year, or in the year preceding which is perhaps more correct, the Emperor sent to the town of Andarī-Karnāl for Shaikh 'Abd-ul-nabī, the traditionist, grandson of Shaikh 'Abd-ul-Qulūs of Gangōh, who is one of the greatest Shaikhs of Hind, and made him chief Qadr,⁴ in order that in conjunction with Muzaffar Khān, he might pay the pensions.⁵ Soon after he acquired such absolute powers, that he conferred on deserving people whole worlds of subsistence allowances, lands, and pensions, so much so that if the bounty of all the former kings of Hind were thrown into one scale, and the liberality of this age into the other, yet this would pre-

¹ "He it is who caused the unbelievers .. to quit their homes... They thought that their fortresses would protect them against God. But God came upon them .. and cast such fear into their hearts that by their own hands .. they demolished their houses. Profit then by this example ye who are men of insight!" *Al Qur'ān* LIX, 2.

² For *Shahr-hāī* read *Shahryāri*.

³ *Al Qur'ān* XII, 109.

⁴ During Akbar's reign the Qadr ranked as the fourth officer of the empire. He was the highest law-officer, and had the powers which Administrators-General have among us; was in charge of all lands devoted to ecclesiastical and benevolent purposes, and possessed an almost unlimited power of conferring such lands independently of the king. He was also the highest ecclesiastical law-officer, and might exercise the powers of High-Inquisitor. Blochm. p. 270. The four officers referred to are *Valī*, *Vazīr*, *Bakhshī*, and *Qadr*.

⁵ Comp. p. 23.

ponderate. But gradually, little by little, it regained its former position, till eventually things became reversed, as will be related further on, (if God, He is exalted! will).

In this year Khwājah Mu'azzam, maternal uncle of the Emperor, who bore the mark of relatives, like scorpions, on the forehead of his destiny :—

“Relatives are like scorpions in the harm they do :

Therefore be not deceived by father's or mother's brother.

For verily *sorrow*¹ is increased by the *father's brother*,

And as for the *mother's brother* he is *destitute* of all good qualities.”

One day, when they came to his house to counsel him, and prevent his committing some unworthy actions, which he meditated, he having learnt their intentions, through malevolence and that innate insanity, which had before manifested itself in him, killed his wife. And since he was deserving of punishment, the Emperor first had him mauled with kicks and sticks, and then gave him several duckings, and packed him off to Gwālyār. In that prison he was released from the prison of his natural temperament and went to his deserts :—

“Leave to Destiny the man who does you a wrong,

For Destiny is a servant who will avenge you.”

And in this year Mirzā Sulaimān for the third time came to Kābul. And the reason for his coming was this: when Shāh Abu-l-Ma'ālī 72 was defeated, and Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm had married², just before he went away again Mirzā [Sulaimān] gave the greater part of the district of Kābul in jāgir to his own soldiers, and so [by this diminution of his revenue] the affairs of Mirzā [Ḥakīm] and his people became embarrassed. So they on some pretext or other turned [Mirzā Sulaimān's] Badakhshīs out of Kābul. So

¹ There is of course a play on the words. *Ghamm* means ‘sorrow,’ and ‘*amm* father's brother.’ *Khāl* means ‘mother's brother,’ and *khālī* (in rhyme for *khālīn*) means ‘destitute.’ The last half verse can scarcely be correct, since *ammū* requires *fa* after it; read, therefore, *wa'inna-l-khāla*. Moreover the *tanwīn* of *khairūtin* must be dropped.

² See p. 63 Text.

Mirzā Sulaimān, with a large force, came to take vengeance, and Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm being unable to withstand him left Bāqī Qāqshāl with a number of trusty vassals in Kābul, and himself went to Jallāl-ābād. Mirzā Sulaimān pursued him. But when Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm reached the banks of the Nīlāb he wrote a letter to the Court, and Mirzā Sulaimān leaving Qambar, one of his followers, with a body of men at Jallāl-ābād, went from Pashāwar to Kābul. In accordance with a command [received] all the Amīrs of the Panjāb (such as Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās, and Atkah Khān, with the whole Atkah-clan¹, and Mahdī Qāsim Khān, and Kamāl Khān Gah'kar) joined Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm; and having given Qambar with 3000 persons (who were holding Jalāl-ābād) as prey to the sword, sent Qambar's head, together with news of the victory, to Bāqī Qāqshāl at Kābul. Mirzā Sulaimān turned the face of flight towards Badakhshān. Mirzā Ḥakīm came to Kābul, and Khān-i-Kalān² remained in office as guardian of Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, and the remaining Amīrs returned to their own jāgīrs. After some time Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, without the permission of the Khān-i-Kalān, gave his own sister,³ the widow of Shāh 'Abu-l-Ma'ālī, in marriage to Khwājah Ḥasan Naqshbandī, one of the sons of Khwājah Naqshbandī⁴ (may God sanctify his glorious tomb!). And Khwājah Ḥasan Naqshbandī, becoming absolute Prime-minister,⁵ managed the affairs with absolute power, and some wits of the period used to say:—

“ If our Master be Master Ḥasan,
We shall have neither sack, nor rope left.”

73 The Khān-i-Kalān, who had supported the authority of the deposed minister, being unable to endure the present state of affairs, without the Mirzā's leave went to Lāhōr, and sent a true account of matters to Court.

¹ See above, p. 49.

² Mir Muḥammad, elder brother of Atkah Khān.

³ Fakhrunnisā Bēgum, daughter of the late emperor Humāyūn by Jūjak Bēgum. *Blochm.* 322.

⁴ Called *Khwājah Bahā-ud-dīn* in the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*. Elliot V, 294.

⁵ Presuming on the importance he had acquired by his marriage. *Ibid.*

In this year Shaikh-ul-Islām Fath-pūrī Chishtī, who in the year nine hundred and seventy-one (971), on his return from Mekkah and Madīnah honoured Badāūn with his presence, and wrote from that place a letter in Arabic to the Author of this history (as will be related in its proper places, if God, He is exalted ! will), laid the foundation of the building of a new monastery, the like of which cannot be shown in the whole of the inhabited world. The following is a *mucmosyon* for the date :—

“ Shaikh ul-Islām, the leader of mankind,
 (May God exalt his sublime power !)
 When he came from Madīnah to Hind,
 That renowned Depository of Spiritual-direction,
 From his auspicious advent Hind
 Found anew a happy fortune.
 Take a certain letter and subtract it
 From *Shaikh-ul-Islām*,¹ to find the date.”

And another like unto it :—

“ Shaikh ul-Islām, the perfect saint,
 That breath of Messias, that footstep of Elias,
 A flash from whose forehead was a glimpse of Eternity,
 A beam from whose face was the light of Eternity,
 When from Madīnah he turned to Hind,
 That breath of Messias, that footstep of Elias,
 Reckon a letter and reckon not a letter
 From *Khair-ul-maqdam*,² to find the date.”

This monastery, having taken 8 years to complete, vaunted itself above the eight heavens.³

¹ $300 + 10 + 600 + 1 + 60 + 30 + 1 + 40 + 10 = 1052$. If you take *lāmī*, which means ‘an I,’ and is numerically equivalent to 81, from this you get 971.

² $600 + 10 + 200 + 1 + 30 + 40 + 100 + 4 + 40 = 1025$. Subtract *mīm* = 90, and you get 935; then add *dāl* = 35, and you get 970. But I am afraid that this is not the correct solution of the riddle.

³ The Seven Heavens (*Bihisht*) are: (1) *Dār ul jullāl* (Mansion of Glory), composed of pearls; (2) *Dār us sulām* (The Mansion of Rest), of ruby and

And about this time the Maḥall-i-Bengālī in Āgrah, and another lofty palace, were completed; and Qāsim Arsalān made this *mnemonym*:—

“When, for his pleasure, the king of fair countenance
Ordered the building of the two palaces of auspicious mark,
The date of the one came out from *‘ishrat*,¹
*Khānah-e Pādāshāh*² was the date of the other.”

During the first part of the month Rajab³ of the year nine hundred 74 and seventy-two (972)⁴ the Emperor went towards Narwar and Karaḥ with a view to elephant-hunting; and having appointed certain people of that district to secure the elephants, he went himself to Gwālyār. For some days, through the heat of the weather, he suffered from a fever; but, when he recovered, he returned to his metropolis.

In this year the project of building the fortress of Āgrah was conceived; and its citadel, which had before been of bricks, he had built of hewn-stone. And he ordered a tax of the value of three *sērs* of corn on every *jarīb* of land in the district, and appointed collectors and officers⁵ from the Amīrs who held *jāgīrs* to collect it. In the course of five years it was completed. [The dimensions of the fortress are as follows:] breadth of wall, 10 *guz*,

garnet: (3) *Jannat ul māwā* (The Garden of Mirrors), of yellow pewter; (4) *Jannat ul Khūld* (The Garden of Eternity), of yellow coral; (5) *Jannat un Nu‘īm* (The Garden of Delights), of white diamond; (6) *Jannat ul Firdūs* (The Garden of Paradise), of red gold; (7) *Dār ul qarār* (The Everlasting Abode), of pure musk. The eighth, or Crystalline Heaven, called *Kūrsī*, supposed to be the judgment seat of God; the ninth Heaven, called *‘Arsh*, the Empyrean Throne of the Divine Glory and Majesty; and *Jannat ul ‘adan* The Garden of Eden, or Terrestrial Paradise, are not termed *Bihisht*. *Qanoon-e-Islām*, p. 149.

¹ *‘Ishrat* means “pleasure,” and = 70 + 300 + 200 + 400 = 970

² That is ‘The King’s palace,’ 600 + 1 + 50 + 5 + 2 + 1 + 4 + 300 + 1 + 5 = 969.

³ The seventh month of the Muhammadan year.

⁴ The Text has by mistake 982.

⁵ *Tawāchī* is a Turkī word denoting *haut commissaire*. See De Courteille, Dictionary p. 219. The word recurs at p. 216, l. 8 *infra* of Text.

height 40 *guz*; with a deep trench both sides of which were built up with stone and lime, its width 20 *guz*, its depth to the surface of the water 10 *guz*, and it was filled with water from the river Jamna. And the like of that fortress can scarcely be shown in any other district. And the date of the gate¹ thereof was found by Shaikh Faizī to be *Binā-ī dar-i Bihisht*,² "The building of the gate of Paradise." And the cost of the building of the fortress was about three *krors*. After it was completed it became the depository and store house of all the gold of Hindūstān, and this *mnemosynon* - was found for the date: *Shud binā-i qil'ah bahr zar*,³ "The fortress was built for the sake of gold." And in truth it is not known to any how to convert that *dead* gold into *live*-stock, except to him who applies the verse: "And the Earth hath cast forth her burdens,"⁴ so that it should say impromptu "God, who giveth a voice to all things, giveth us a voice"⁵ :—

"Gold in the hand of a worldly man,
O brother, is still in the ore.
Gold, my son, is meant to be enjoyed;
For hoarding, gold is no better than stone."

In this year the rebellion of the Khān Zamān, and Ibrāhīm Khān and Iskandar Khān Uzbek took place. And this is how it arose. After the rebellion of 'Abd-ullāh Khān Uzbek,⁶ suspicion of the whole Uzbek tribe found access to the Emperor's mind, and he sent Ashraf Khān the *Mīr-Munshī* from Narwar to seek Iskandar 75 Khān on propitiatory terms. This man held a *jāgīr* in Ondh,⁷ and by means of seductive artifices he managed to carry off

¹ The date of the completion of it, cf. Joshua vi. 26, "At the price of his first-born shall he lay its foundations, and at the price of his youngest *shall he set up the gates thereof*."

² I can only make 974 out of this.

³ 300 + 4 + 2 + 51 + 10 + 100 + 30 + 70 + 5 + 2 + 5 + 200 + 7 + 200 = 936.

⁴ Al Qur'ān xcix. 2.

⁵ Al Qur'ān xli. 20.

⁶ See above p. 67.

⁷ Anglice Oude, Sansk. *Ayodhya*.

to his jāgīr, which was Sarharpūr,¹ Ashraf Khān, on the pretence of accompanying Ibrāhīm Khān Uzbek, who was senior to the others. Thence they went to Jounpūr to the Khān Zamān² with the intention of asking his advice. These came to the determination to rebel, which they proceeded to do unanimously, and most unjustifiably detained Ashraf Khān. Sikandar Khān and Ibrāhīm Khān raised the head of rebellion in Lak'hnou, and Khān Zamān, and Bahādur Khān at Kaṛah and Mānikpūr. The Amīrs of those districts, such as Shāham Khān Jalāir, Shāh Budāgh Khān and others were defeated in battle before the Khān Zamān. In that battle Muḥammad Amin Divānah was made prisoner, and the Amīrs then shut themselves up in the fortress of Nīm Kahār, and Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl in Mānikpūr. Then Āḡaf Khān leaving a body of men to hold the district of Gaṛha Katangah, went himself with considerable treasure, and a fresh army, to the relief of Majnūn Khān. He unlocked his treasury and satisfied the greed of his army, and also supplied Majnūn Khān plentifully from the public treasury (which was the means of his being able to recruit his army), and then encamped opposite to the Khān Zamān. Thence they sent reports to the Court. And Sānī Khān wrote this verse in his dispatch:—

“O royal cavalier, army-decking in the day of battle,
The victory hath escaped us, place thy foot in the stirrup.”

When, on his return from his journey to Mālwal, the Emperor received this news, he sent off Mun'im Khān the Khān-Khānān, to cross the Ganges at the ford of Kanouj, and himself in the month Shavvāl³ of the year nine hundred and seventy-two (972) set his royal foot in the stirrup. And to Qiyā Khān Gung (who had been one of the rebels), at the intercession of the Khān-Khānān, 76 the Emperor, on his arrival, granted an audience, and graciously condoned his offences. Thence by forced marches his Imperial Highness came to Lak'hnou. Sikandar Khān did not give

¹ That is, Ibrāhīm Khān's jāgīr.

² 'Alī Qulī Khān Uzbek.

³ The tenth month.

battle, but joining the Khān Zamān and Bahādur Khān, these all ceased to confront Aḡaf Khān and Majnūn Khān, and, retreating towards Jounpūr with all their people and families, crossed the river Narhan, and went down country. Then Yūsūf Muḥammad Khan son of Atkah Khān, was appointed to go against them. The Emperor also pursued in person, and encamped outside Jounpūr. At that halting-place Aḡaf Khān with 5000 veteran horse, in company with Majnūn Khān, came and paid his respects, and brought his gifts, and was graciously received. On Friday the 12th of the month Zi Ḥijjah of the aforesaid year the Emperor alighted at the fort of Jounpūr. And Aḡaf Khān being made generalissimo of the army crossed the ford of Narhan and went down country to oppose the Khan Zaman. In those days the Emperor appointed Ḥājji Muḥammad Khān Sistāni to go on an embassy to Sulaimān Karānī¹ Governor of Bengāl (who had a strong friendship for the Khān Zamān), in order to prevent his giving any aid or assistance to the Khan Zaman. When he arrived at the fortress of Rhotās, some Afghāns seized him, and sent him to the Khān Zamān, with whom they had a bond of union. And the Khān Zamān, on account of the time-honoured friendship which had existed between Ḥājji Muḥammad Khān and himself, treating him with punctilious honour and respect, settled to send his own mother with him to the Court, to intercede for himself, and entreat forgiveness for his faults.

In these days, the Emperor sent Ḥasan Khān *Khazānchī*,² and Mahā-pātra³ *Bād Iarōshī*⁴ (who had been of the favoured courtiers of Shīr Shāh, and Islīm Shāh, and was without a rival in the science of music and Hindū poetry) on an embassy to the Rāja of Orissa (who was distinguished above the other Rājas for his army and military pomp), to dissuade him from reaching the hand of aid and assistance to the Khān Zamān, and to prevent his giving him refuge in his dominions, and that, by preventing Sulaimān also from

¹ Called also *Karānī*, and *Karzānī*. He reigned in Bengāl from 971 to 981, or A. D. 1563 to 1573. *Blochm.* 171.

² That is 'Treasurer.'

³ This name is Sanskrit, from *mahā* groat, and *pātra* vessel.

⁴ Means 'Seller of wind.'

77 helping him he might utterly frustrate the plans of the Khān Zamān. The Rājā agreed willingly enough to act on the part of the Emperor, and declared his loyalty by sending elephants and valuable gifts and presents. Then the two ambassadors returned to the Court at Āgrah.

About the same time Muzaffar Khān, and others of the courtiers, through the violence of their nature and their avarice, assailed the ear of Āṣaf Khān with open and covert suggestions, hoping to get from him presents, valuables and further advantages. [but afterwards] they followed the beaten track of detraction, and suggested to some people to find out the truth about the booty of Chonrā-gaḍh,¹ and broached the matter to Āṣaf Khān himself. When Āṣaf Khān was conducting hostilities against the Khān Zamān and was encamped at the ford of Narhan, he had been much wounded and annoyed by these matters, so that one midnight, seizing the opportunity, he together with his brother Vazīr Khān, and such troops as he had, fled towards the district of Garha Katangah,² and arrived at Garha. On the receipt of news of this circumstance the Emperor appointed Mun'im Khān, Khān-Khānān, in his place as generalissimo of that army, and appointed Shujā'at Khān to go in pursuit of Āṣaf Khān. Shujā'at Khān embarked from Mānikpūr, and endeavoured to cross the Ganges, but Āṣaf Khān (who had retreated for some distance), as soon as he heard this returned, and came to the river-bank to hinder his passage. There he fought a severe battle, and prevented the flotilla of Shujā'at Khān from crossing, so that the latter, when night came on, was obliged to return to the side from which he started. Then Āṣaf Khān on the other bank of the river, with his

¹ Compare p. 67, l. 6—10 of Text.

² In the vast territories of Hindūstān there is a country called *Gondwāna*, that is, the land inhabited by the tribe of *Gonds*. To the east of this country lies *Katanpūr*, a dependency of the country of *Jhārkand*; and on the west it borders on *Kāśīn*, belonging to the province of *Mālwah*. The length of this district is 150 *cosses*. On the north lies *Panna*, and on the south the *Dekkan*, and the breadth is 80 *cosses*. This country is called *Garha Katangah*. *Garha* is the name of the chief city, and *Katangah* is the name of a place [near it]. The seat of government was the fort of *Chōuragarh*. *Akbarnūmah*, Elliot, vi, p. 30.

whole army went off to his own jāgīr. At this juncture Shujā'at Khān, finding the field open, proceeded by another road to Karah, and went some distance in pursuit of an enemy, the skirt of whose garments he could not reach even in thought; and, when he found that there was a great distance between them, he returned to Jounpūr and came to the Court.

Also in these days Hasan Khān came as ambassador, bringing fitting presents, on behalf of his brother Fath Khān¹ Afghān Tibatī, governor of the fortress of Rohtās, where in the year 972 he⁷⁸ had been besieged by Sulaimān Kararānī, but, on hearing news of the approach of the Emperor, Sulaimān had raised the siege. His prayer was that he might be confirmed in his government, while he should deliver up the fortress.² On this account Qulij Khān was appointed to accompany him from Jounpūr. Then Fath Khān, having repented of sending his brother, and having provisioned the fortress well, wrote a letter to his brother as follows: "Convey thyself to us as quickly as possible, for our mind is at rest with regard to the stores." So Hasan Khān, cloaking his treachery under the garb of hypocrisy, managed to detain Qulij Khān for some time, and outwardly made show of submission. But eventually Qulij Khān became aware of his duplicity, and had to depart without attaining his object:—

"Dastān i Sām³ was champion of the world,
Yet at play he was not always the winner."

This Rohtās is a fortress in the neighbourhood of Bihār, in length it is⁴ 14 *cos*ses, in breadth 3 *cos*ses, in height 5 *cos*ses.⁵ Inside the fortress there is cultivated land, and such abundance of water that if one drive a nail into the ground or set a trivet at any spot water comes up. Ever since Shīr Shāh seized the fortress it had

¹ See Blochmann's *Āin-i-Akbarī*, p. 502.

² To Akbar rather than to Sulaimān Kararānī.

³ *Dastān i Sām* means 'Dastān son of Sām,' comp. the Greek *ὁ τοῦ*. *Dastān* is another name for *Zal* the father of *Rustam* (see notes to page 51 T.).

⁴ Viz. the plateau on which it is built. *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*, Elliot V, 300.

⁵ The *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī* says 'half a cos.' *Ibid.* This seems nearer the mark.

been in the hands of the Afghāns, till the turn came to Fath Khān, who would not bow the head to Sulaimān. And afterwards it came into the possession of the Emperor, as shall be related if God, (He is exalted!) will.

And when Jounpūr became the halting-place of the imperial standards and the Emperor was very busy in the arrangement of important affairs, before he sent off Mun'im Khān as leader of the army against the Khān Zamān, this latter, being encamped at the ford of Narhan, honoured Bahadūr Khān with the command, and sent him off together with Sikandar Khān towards Sardār (?),¹ with instructions to penetrate to the centre of the district, and create a disturbance, and with a considerable force to obtain any advantage they could in any direction they pleased.

79 On this account several of the great Amirs with a great army (such as Shāh Būdāgh Khān, and his son 'Abd-ul-Maṭṭlab Khān, and Qiyā Khān, and Sa'id Khān, and Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm Khān Farankhūdī,² and others whom it would take too long to mention) were appointed, together with Mir Mu'azz-ul Mulk Mashhadī (on the stature of whose capacity the dress of commander-in-chief sat badly and unbecomingly) to undertake to oppose and drive back Iskandar and Bahādūr. These armies had not yet met, while Mun'im Khān the Khān-Khānān (who had an excessively friendly regard for the Khān Zamān) for four or five months, in his old way of intimacy, kept sending soldiers with messages by letter and by word of mouth to make negotiation for peace. When Khwājah Jahān and Darbār Khān arrived at the ford of Narhan from Jounpūr, in order to examine into the matter of peace or war, and to settle whether haste or delay were preferable, on the one side the Khān Zamān with three or four people, and on the other the Khān-Khānān and Khwājah Jahān, also with three or four persons,

¹ *Sarwār* is the reading of the *Ṭabaqāt-i Aḥbarī*. Elliot identifies the place with *Sarharpūr* (V. 301). Blochmann considers (p. 381 n) that the district *Sarwār* got its name from the river *Sarw*. See p. 83, l. 12 of our Text. Our editors, or printers, probably mistook *wāw* for *dāl*.

² Or *Faranjūdī*

³ He belonged to the Mūsawī Sayyids of Mashhad, who trace their descent to 'Alī Mūsā Razā, the 8th Imām of the Shi'ahs.

got into the same boat, and when they had had an interview, settled peace on the following terms: That the Khān Zamān should send his mother, with his uncle Ibrāhīm Khān Uzbek, and the famous elephants he possessed, to the Court. And that after that all his transgressions had been condoned, Sikandar and Bahādur should go themselves to the Court. Then Darbār Khān brought this news to the royal ear; and the next day the Khān Khūnān and Khwājah Jahān brought the mother of the Khān Zamān, and Ibrāhīm Khān, together with the elephants, to the Court, and assumed the position of intercessors for the forgiveness of the faults of the Khān Zamān. When, suddenly, news came from Sardār¹ of the flight of the general Mir Mu'izz-ul-Mulk. The Emperor was much enraged, and that peace was turned to rancour.

The explanation of this circumstance is briefly as follows: When the imperial army drew near to Sikandar and Bahādur, they remaining just where they were sent a message to Mir Mu'izz-ul-Mulk: 80
 "Become thou the means of intercession, and obtain for us from the Court forgiveness of our faults, so that we may send to the Court whatever, of elephants and other things, we have taken possession of, and then when we are cleared of our transgressions, and our faults are forgiven, we may ourselves go and do homage." Mir Mu'izz-ul-Mulk² in as much as he was continually boasting: "I, and there is none beside me," showed a Pharaoh-like, and harsh Shaddād-like character, which is one of the inheritances of the Sayyids of Mashhad; and on that topic it has been said:—

"O men of Mashhad, with the exception of your Imām³
 May the curse of God rest on each one of you!"

And another poet saith:—

"Though it is man that renders the face of the ground pleasant,
 A *Mashhadī*⁴ on the face of the ground is not pleasant."

So he established a character for crookedness of disposition, for which he became notorious, and said: "Your being made clean can

¹ See preceding page, note 1.

² He was a Shi'ah of the Shi'ahs, and therefore our author could not bear him.

³ Imām Rizā.

⁴ *Mashhadī* means both "an inhabitant of Mashhad," and "a cemetery."

only be imagined by the water¹ of the sword." Meanwhile Lashkar Khān, *Mir Bakhshī*, and Rāja Todar Mal came from the Court to hasten the decision of the Amīrs, whether for peace or war. So that, if they thought it best, they might fight; but if not, they might hold out hopes to Sikandar and Bahādur. So Bahādur Khān came again to the outposts of the imperial camp alone, and sending for Mir Mu'izz-ul-Mulk and some of the Amīrs, he made proposals of peace, saying: "Since the Khān Zamān is sending his mother, and Ibrāhīm Khān to the Court, or rather by this time will have sent them, we have hopes of the forgiveness² or our transgressions, and indeed this is the most probable contingency. Meanwhile we are awaiting the answer, and until the affair be settled we will not put our hand to war. Do you too, until the answer arrive, wait a few days." Mir Mu'izz-ul-Mulk was a very fire, and Todar Mal played the part of oil of naphtha, and made that fire burn fiercer than ever, so that nothing but words of sternness passed on their tongue. So Bahādur Khān and Iskandar Khān, becoming desperate, did what they thought best for their own interests, and drew up their army:—

"In the time of necessity, when there is no escape,
The hand seizes the hilt of the sharp sword."

On the one side Mu'izz-ul-Mulk, putting Muḥammad Anūn Divānah in the van, himself took up his position in the centre, and kept by his side 'Abd-ul-Maṭlab Khān, and Salīm Khān, and Kūkar 'Alī Khān, and Bēg Nūrīn Khān, and other tried warriors, and appointed the other Amīrs to the right and left wings. And on the other side [were] Sikandar Khān, and his relative³ Muḥammad Yār in the van, and Bahādur Khān was in the centre.⁴ Then the two armies joined battle, and like two mountains they clashed together. Much valour was displayed on either side, Muḥammad Yār was slain, and Iskandar Khān fleeing, threw himself into the River Siyāh,⁵ which was in

¹ *Āb* means "water" Sanskrit *āp*, also "brightness," Sansk. *ābh*. There is, of course, a play on the two meanings of the word.

² He was his brother-in-law. *Blochm*.

³ The word *col* is Turki, it recurs on p. 231, l. 1 of Text.

⁴ *Siyāh* = *Sya*, which falls into the Gānti near Jounpūr.

Moreover the Khān Khānān, taking up the position of intercessor, reminded the Emperor of the past services of their party, so that their offence received pardon. The Emperor commanded that they should be left in possession of their *jāgīrs* as heretofore, but that, as long as the Imperial camp remained in that place, they should not cross the river. So their representatives came to Āgrah, and the Emperor issued the necessary *farmāns*, in accordance with which they took possession. The mother of the Khān Zamān sent this good news to her sons,¹ and Bahādur Khān and Sikandar Khān sent the elephants, *Koh-pārah*, and *Çaff-shikan*,² who were the subjects of strife and contention, together with other presents, to the Court.

Meanwhile the report from Rāja Todar Mal and Lashkar Khān arrived, containing an account of the battle and the flight, and of the treachery³ of the Amīrs. Then the Emperor ordered: "Since to 83 please the Khān Khānān I have overlooked the fault of the Khān Zamān and the others, let the great Amīrs come to the Court." Mu'izz-ul-Mulk and Rāja Todar Mal were reprehended, and the perpetrators of the treachery were for a time debarred from the imperial presence; and then, were rebuked, and restored to their former favour.

In these days the Emperor made an expedition to the fortress of Chunār, and, being engaged in elephant-hunting in the jungles about that fortress, took to camp-life. While the Emperor's camp was at Chunār, the Khān Zamān crossing the Ganges in haste, and breaking his word,⁴ came to Muḥammadābād, which is a dependency of the town of Mou,⁵ and sent agents to seize Jounpūr and Ghāzīpūr. This affair highly displeased the Emperor, who sent Ashraf Khān *Mīr-munshī* to Jounpūr, to detain the Khān Zamān's mother in the fortress, and to seize any rebels there might be there; and, leaving the camp in charge of Khwājah Jahān, and Muzaffar Khān,

¹ 'Alī Qulī Khān Shaibānī [*Khān Zamān*], and Muhammad Sa'id Shaibānī [*Bahādur Khān*]. Their father was Ḥaidar Sultān Uzbek i Shaibānī. Concerning their achievements, see p. 18.

² These names mean respectively "Piece of a Mountain," and "Rank-breaker."

³ See above p. 83.

⁴ See above.

⁵ Or Mhew (properly Mahu), about lat. 26° N, long. 79° E.

paragon of the human race, the very eleventh¹ Intelligence, Mir Sayyid Sharīf Jurjānī (sanetified be his grave!), and Mukhdūm-ul-Mulk to bring the Khān Zamān to repent of his rebellion, and to convey the glad tidings of his pardon to the ear of his soul. The Khān Zamān came to meet them, and, as was required took an oath of allegiance, and then dismissed their Excellencies with every mark of honour and respect.

The Emperor towards the end of the year nine hundred and seventy-three (973), returned, and set his face towards the capital, and on Friday the 7th of the month Ramzān² of the aforesaid year he came to Āgrah and spent his time in festivities. Thence he went to his new palace Nagar-Chīn, and occupied himself in *Chougān*-playing, and dog-racing, and hawk-flying. And they contrived a fiery ball with which one could play on a dark night.

And in this year died Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān, son of Atkah Khān, through continual wine-bibbing :—

“Three things are fatal to men,

And bring the healthy to sickness :

Continual indulgence in wine and women,

And the cramming of food upon food.”

85

In this year the Emperor appointed Mahdī Qāsim Khān, and some of the Amīrs such as Ḥusain Khān, his relative, and Khālid Khān and others, with 3000, or 4000 horsemen to act against Āḥaf Khān in the district of Garḥa Katangah.³ Then Āḥaf Khān left the fortress of Chourāgarḥ, and sent a petition to Court asking for the pardon of his offences. But, when this was not accepted, he wrote a letter to Khān Zamān, and in concert with Wazīr Khān his own brother went to Jounpūr to the Khān Zamān. The Khān Zamān at the first meeting bore himself so haughtily towards him, that Āḥaf Khān repented of having come :—

“Alas that he came out of the well,

And fell into the snare !”

¹ They count *ten* Intelligences ; this man was, as it were, *an eleventh*.

² The 9th month.

³ See p. 78, note 2.

And Mahdi Qāsim Khān, having got the district of Garha into his power, gave it to the *Jāgīrdārs*, and then giving up his pursuit of Āṣaf Khān went by way of Hindia towards the sacred Mekka, which he had the happiness to reach. And Husain Khān with his own men went after him as far as the fortress of Satwās near the kingdom of Dekkan.

Then all of a sudden Ibrāhīm Husain Mirzā and Shāh Mirzā and Muḥammad Husain Mirzā, sons of Sulṭān Muḥammad Mirzā (who was descended on his father's side from 'Taimūr, the Fortunate,' and on his mother's side from Sulṭān Husain Mirzā¹), an old man and full of years, to whom the Emperor had given the Parganna of A'zampūr as his *jāgīr*, raised the standard of revolt in the district of Sambhal.² And, after the subjugation of the Khān Zamān, and the Emperor had turned towards the Panjāb against Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, they fleeing before Mun'im Khān the *Khān Khānān*, plunged into the midst of the district and came to Dihlī, and eventually raised the standard of rebellion in the kingdom of Mālwah. 86 From this place two of the brothers, Shāh Mirzā, and Muḥammad Husain Mirzā, went and laid siege to Hindia. But Ibrāhīm Husain Mirzā went towards Satwās, which was 10 *cosces* distant, and Husain Khān together with one named Muqarrab Khān, a chief of the Amīrs of the Dekkan, shut himself up in Satwās. Of stores there were none in the fort, so that they were reduced to eating the flesh of horses, camels, and cows, and the matter touched the life, and the knife reached the bone, and yet no assistance came from any side; still, however much Mirzā Ibrāhīm Husain might bring forward proposals of peace, the garrison would not give in. Till, one morning, they put the head³ of Qadam Khān (Muqarrab Khān's brother, who had been killed at Hindia), upon the point of a lance, and showed

¹ The title is *Qāhib-i-Qirān*, i. e., Lord of conjunction, viz., of Jupiter and Venus, the two beneficent planets, called *Sa'dain*. He was descended from the second son of Taimūr, 'Umar Shaikh Mirzā, father of Mirzā Bāiqrā, father of Mirzā Maṇṣūr, father of Mirzā Bāiqrā, father of Wais Mirzā, father of Muḥammad Sulṭān Mirzā. The sons of Muḥammad Sulṭān Mirzā were (1) Ulugh Mirzā, (2) Shāh Mirzā, (3) Ibrāhīm Husain Mirzā, (4) Muḥammad Husain Mirzā, (5) Ma'ūd Husain Mirzā, (6) 'Āqil Husain Mirzā.

² She was daughter of Sulṭān Husain Mirzā. *King of Khurāsān*.

³ The *Jāgīrdārs* of the vicinity treated them as mere marauders and expelled them from Sambhal, whence they proceeded to Mālwah. Briggs' *Ferishta*, II. 226.

⁴ Instead of *bar* read *sar*.

it to Muqarrab Khān, and let him know that Hindia was taken. and that his kith and kin and the inhabitants of the place were all prisoners. Moreover they brought his mother, and setting her where he could see her, said : " Since the family and dependants of Muqarrab Khān are in this condition, with what confidence do you go on fighting?" Than Muqarrab Khān, being helpless, and rather a Muqarrab-ghulām¹ than a Muqarrab-Khān, went and saw the Mirzās. Then, having granted Husain Khān quarter, and got him out under treaty, they at first tried to press him into their service, but when he did not seem to see it, they let him go unharmed. Eventually in the year nine hundred and seventy-four (974), at the time when the Emperor had gone from Lāhōr to Āgra, he went, and did homage to him, and was favourably received, and the Emperor gave him in addition to Patiyālī, which was his *jāgīr*, the Parganna of Shamsābād.

87 The composer of this epitome, one year before this, having had the good fortune to go from Badāūn to Patiyālī, became acquainted with the aforesaid Khān. And, since he was a teacher of polite learning, and condescending, and dervish-like, and brave, and munificent, and of blameless life, and a sunnī, and a patron of science, and a friend of virtue, and easy of access, I had no desire to leave his presence, and to go and pay my respects elsewhere. Accordingly I spent the space of 10 years in his society, in these unknown corners and dark recesses, engaged with him in suitable occupations. At last Fortune played me a trick, and struck a fatal blow to this companionship. A strange matter was at the bottom of this separation, and however much I begged his pardon, and employed mediation and intercessions, and, going to Badāūn, got even my, now deceased, mother to act as my advocate, it availed nothing; so I hastened to pay my respects to the Khalif of the age² :—

"The heart, which is grieved by any one,
It is difficult to make happy.
A vase,³ that has been broken,
It is difficult to piece together again."

¹ *Khān* is a "Noble," *ghulām* a "slave"; and *Muqarrab-ghulāmī* possibly means a "confidential servant" like *Muqarrab-ul-khidmat*.

² That is the Emperor Akbar.

³ Compare above p. 28 of Text.

Finally¹ the Khān Zamān appointed Āṣaf Khān together with Bahādur Khān to reduce some of the districts of the Afghāns, and fearing lest Wazīr Khān should act treacherously towards himself he kept his eye on him. The two brothers,² having by means of messages sent backwards and forwards between them determined on flight, and fixed a time, on the night appointed the one fled from the Khān Zamān, and the other parted company with Bahādur Khān, and went 30 *cosses* distance going in the direction of Āgra and Mānikpūr. Then Bahādur Khān pursued after Āṣaf Khān, and between Jounpūr and Mānikpūr a sharp fight took place between the two parties. Āṣaf Khān was taken prisoner and Bahādur Khān had him put into the *honda* of an elephant, and set off. Meanwhile Wazīr Khān from Jounpūr arrived at the place whither they were taking his brother, and Bahādur Khān's men being scattered in quest of booty, he could not withstand him, so Bahādur Khān gave orders for Āṣaf Khān to be put to death, as he was, in the *honda*. He received a sword-cut on his nose, and two or three of his fingers were cut off, but Wazīr Khān managed to release him before he⁸⁸ had received further injury, and the two brothers made for Garha, and Bahādur Khān returned foiled. Wazīr Khān arrived at the confines of Lāhōr, just at the time that the Emperor, having gone in pursuit of Muḥammad Ḥakīm, had turned aside to enjoy a *gamurgha*-hunt,³ and at the intercession of Muzaffar Khān he was allowed to do homage, and a *farmān* gracious in its wording was issued to Āṣaf Khān.

In this year Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm came to Lāhōr. The cause of it was that, when Mīrzā Sulaimān returned the third time from Kābul, and Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm had got possession of Kābul, and had dismissed the imperial Amīrs to Hindūstān, and Khwājah Ḥasan Naqshbandī had become absolute Prime-minister,⁴ and the Khān Kalān was enraged thereat, then Mīrzā Sulaimān, finding the field for the fourth time clear, in company with his wife Walī Nī'mat Bēgum, hastened to Kābul, and laid siege to it. And Mīrzā

¹ Continued from p. 85.

² Wazīr Khān, and Āṣaf Khān.

³ Compare p. 93 note 3.

⁴ See page 72, l. 18.

Muḥammad Ḥakīm entrusting Kābul to Ma'ṣūm Kokah (who afterwards raised rebellion, and was the mover of sedition in Hindūstān, and was a man of great courage), himself with Khwājah Ḥasan Naqshbandi went to the river Ghorband.¹ And Mirzā Sulaimān, when he found that he could not take Kābul by force of arms, by many artifices contrived to convey Walī Ni'mat Bēgum to Qarābāgh (which is 10 *cosse*s distant from Kābul, and in the neighbourhood of the Ghorband). There she brought forward proposals of peace, and took solemn and awful oaths:² and Mirzā [Muḥammad Ḥakīm] set out to meet her with a small escort. Khwājah Ḥasan also approved of this conciliatory interview, but Bāqī Qāqshāl was not pleased with the matter and said: "This woman is a thorough deceiver, and is not fit to be trusted:"—

"Go not out of the way for any blandishments of Fortune

For this old woman

As a deceiver she sits down, and as a traitress

She moves about."

Then Mirzā Sulaimān before Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm arrived at 89 Qarābāgh came by forced marches from Kābul with a considerable force, and lay in ambush in that neighbourhood. It happened that some of the soldiers of Mirzā Sulaimān met with the men of Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, and gave him information of this. So Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm fled, and when he got to Ghorband he became bewildered and fell by mistake into the road to the Hindūkush³ mountain. Khwājah Ḥasan wished to bring him to Pīr Muḥammad Khān Uzbek, governor of Balkh, in order to ask his assistance. But Bāqī Qāqshāl prevented this, and brought the Mirzā in the direction of the Capital by way of Panjhar⁴ to Jalālābād and thence to the bank of the river Nilāb, till eventually he crossed the river Sind,⁵ and sent a despatch to the Court. Khwājah Ḥasan with his party arrived at *Balkh*, and after some time he became lost, and his life became bitter (*Talkh*) to him:—

To the north of Kābul.

• That she was acting in good faith.

• Means 'Hindu slayer,' and is so called because slaves brought thither from India die from the intensity of the cold. Lee's *Ibn Batuta*, p. 97.

• Panjhar.

• The Indus.

“ My heart is gone, my soul is fled, my religion lost,
O Ḥasan ! worse than this what can I become ! ”

Mirzā Sulaimān pursued Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm as far as Kōtal-sanjad-darra, and took prisoners some stragglers of his army, and having plundered¹ his baggage, still remained on that spot.

Meanwhile during his prolonged absence Muḥammad Maʿqūm of Kābul attacked Sulaimān's camp and spoiled it, and defeated his general Qulī Shaghālī, and after this decisive victory proceeded to lay siege to Chaharbāgh. Then Mirzā Sulaimān sent Qāzī Khān Badakhshī as ambassador to incite Muḥammad Maʿqūm to terms of peace. This Muḥammad Maʿqūm at first refused, but he could not withstand the persuasions of Qāzī Khān, because he had been his tutor, and so Mirzā [Sulaimān] received from him a small bribe, for mere form's sake, and returned to Badakhshān.

Now, before Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm's messenger could arrive at the Court, the Emperor had received news of the disturbances at Kābul, and had sent by the hand of a state-messenger Khūshkhabar Khān a saddle, a bridle adorned with jewels, and precious things of Hindūstān, and a substantial sum of money to Mirzā,² together 90 with a reassuring *farmān*, promising him the assistance of the Amīrs of the Panjāb. Mirzā [Muḥammad Ḥakīm] hastened to meet the envoy, and fully intended to come [to Court], when Faridūn Khān, his maternal uncle whom the Emperor had sent from Nagarchīn to bring the disturbance to an end, suddenly arrived, and immediately on his arrival tried to seduce the Mirzā into rebellion, and so changed the aspect of affairs :—

“ When the medicine is the cause of the disease, what hope is there

Of the cure of the disease, or of the recovery of the sick man ? ”

And Ḥasan Khān, brother of Shahāb Khān, who was at Kābul and one Sultān ʿAlī, a scribe who had fled from Hindūstān and was waiting for something to turn up, joined with Faridūn Khān in representing to the Mirzā that it would be very easy to capture Lāhōr.

¹ For *tāj* read *tārāj*.

² Muḥammad Ḥakīm.

Then, when he agreed to their rebellious proposals, they tried to induce him to seize the person of Khūshkhabar Khān. But the Mirzā through that generosity, which was inherent in his nature, sent privately for him, and dismissed him. But eventually this very year, when the Emperor was *qamurgha*¹-hunting in the neighbourhood of Lāhōr, Khūshkhabar Khān was drowned in the river Rāwī and a clever fellow extemporised this verse:—

“*Khūshkhabar*² is bad news, for never was there
In the world such an ugly fellow as he,
He died in the water, although they say :
And from the water all things live.”³

But Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm with rebellious intentions went into the neighbourhood of Behra, and set his hand (which was never ready for political affairs) to spoiling and plundering the district. Then, setting out for Lāhōr, he came by forced marches, and encamped in the garden of Mahdī Qāsim Khān, which was situate outside the city on the banks of the river Rāwī. And Fate in an impromptu said to him:—

91 “Since at this point I leave you as you are,
It hardly matters that we came so far.”

And Mir Muḥammad Khān, and all the Atkāh-khāns⁴ with their *posse comitatus* came into the fortress, and however much Mirzā attacked it, they so repulsed him that they gave him no opportunity to formally invest it. Now, when the reports from the Amīrs reached the Emperor, he, leaving Āgrah in charge of the Khān-khānān,⁵ and Muzaffar Khān, on the 3rd of Jamādi-l-awwal⁶ of the year nine hundred and seventy-four (974) marched on the Panjāb by way of Dihli and Sirhind. And Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm on the mere hearing of this news, without effecting anything, went back to Kābul by the way by which he had come:—

¹ Compare next page, and text, pp. 354, 421.

² Means ‘good-news.’

³ Al Qur’ān NLI, 31 “And we made from the water every living thing.”

⁴ That is, to relatives of *Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad Atkāh*.

⁵ *Mu’nīm Khān*.

⁶ The fifth month of the Muḥammadan year.

“He that cannot seize the skirt of Fortune by might,
His bootless effort is like dyeing the eyebrows of the blind.”

And Qutb-ud-dīn Muḥammad Khān, and Kamāl Khān G'hakkar were appointed to go from Lāhōr in pursuit of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm. They went a certain distance and then turned back from Behra.

At this time a letter came from Muḥammad Bāqī Tarkhān bin Mīrzā Muḥammad 'Isā,¹ ruler of the district of Sindh, containing assurance of his own loyalty, and complaints of the attacks of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, the governor of Bakkar, on the province of Sindh and Lāhōr. Accordingly a *farmān* was sent to Sulṭān Maḥmūd touching the complaints of Muḥammad Bāqī.

During the stay at Lāhōr a letter came from the Khān Khānān saying that Ulugh Mīrzā and Shāh Mīrzā, in whose jāgīr were the parganna of Nahtnūr (?) a dependency of Sambhal, and A'zampūr, had, in conjunction with their uncles Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā and Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā,² with rebellious designs seized some of the government pargannas; but that, on his going in pursuit of them, they had fled to Mālwa.

92

At this time the Emperor held a *Qamurgha*-hunt³ at about five *cosses* from Lāhōr. For a space of 40 *cosses* in every direction they drove the wild game together in a circle, and day by day they contracted the circle, till it became as narrow as the mouth of the fair:—

“The compass drew so narrow the figure of that mouth,
That the circumference of the circle coincided with the
centre.”

About 15,000 wild animals of various kinds were counted in that arena. The nobles, and afterwards the people generally, were permitted to join in the sport. Afterwards the whole party gave rein to their horses, and dashed into the river Rāwī to swim across, and all the courtiers, with the exception of one or two, of which number

¹ A direct descendant of Chingīz Khān. See *Blochm.* 361.

² See above, p. 85 T. note; and *Elliot* V. 315.

³ A Turkī word denoting a great *battue*; De Courteille morely calls it *lieu de chasse*.

was Khūs-khabar Khān (as has been already mentioned),¹ got safely across. Now, while the *Qamurgha*-hunt was going on, Muzaffar Khān arrived with Vazīr Khān from Āgra, and the Emperor wrote a *farmān* entrusting to Āḡaf Khān and Majnūn Khān the joint guardianship of the districts of Karrah and Mānikpūr—on which subject² many a poem was composed.

Meanwhile news arrived that the Khān Zamān, Bahādur Khān, and Sikandar Khān had broken faith and were in open rebellion: and that they had sent persons to fetch Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, and had had the audacity to read the *khutbah*, and to strike coin in his name in the district of Jounpūr. And Mulā Ghazālī, a poet of Mashhid, composed this verse:—

“In the name of the gracious and merciful God,
Muḥammad Ḥakīm is the heir of a kingdom.”

On hearing this news the Emperor confided Mirzā Mirak Razawī the Khān Zamān's lieutenant, to the custody of Jān Bāqī Khān. 93 and entrusting the charge of the affairs of the Panjāb to Khānī Kalān, and the whole *Atgah* family,² on the 12th of the blessed month of Ramzān in the year 974 started for Āgra, and went to the fort of T'hānēsar,⁴ which has been from time immemorial a haunt of infidels. At the lake [called] *Kurk'hēt*,⁵ a host of Kurus and Pāndus,⁶ (curse on them!) more than 4.000 years ago, according to the opinion of the Hindūs, to the number of seven or eight hundred millions of persons were killed in a tumult (and they went by way of water to hell-fire). And now every year there is a great assembly there, and the Hindū people, at that place of worship, give away both privately and publicly, gold and silver, and,

¹ P. 92

² viz. Akbar's clemency towards Āḡaf Khān and Vazīr Khān.

³ See p. 49, note 4.

⁴ Sanscrit *Śthaneśvara*, meaning 'Lord of the place.' It is a town about 100 miles from Dihli, where there is a temple of *Mahadeo*.

⁵ Sanscrit *Kurukshetra*, i. e., Kuru-battlefield.

⁶ Abu-l-Fazl, according to Sir H. Elliot, V. 318 note, calls the sects 'Gurs and Puris.'

jewels, and linen, and valuable goods: and in accordance with that which has been said, [*viz.*] :—

“Do a good action, and cast into the water:”

they secretly cast gold coins into the water. And bodies of Jogī-s and Sannyāsi-s, who are the Hindū devotees, are in the habit of fighting there in their bigotry. On this occasion their fight made a grand show. A number of the imperial soldiers, in accordance with a command from the Emperor, having rubbed their bodies well with ashes,¹ went and fought on the side of the Sannyāsi-s (who were scarcely 300 men, while the Jogī-s were more than 500). But many were slain on either side. At last the Sannyāsi-s came off victorious.

When the imperial camp was pitched at Dihlī, Mīrzā Mirak Razawī escaping from Khān Bāqī Khān, in whose charge he was imprisoned, fled and joined his employer.² Then Khān Bāqī Khān went in pursuit of him for some distance, but eventually, through fear of punishment, attached himself to the insurgents:—

‘As for him who became a tale,
His tale never came back again.’

While the Emperor was still at Dihlī, Shāh Fakhr-ud-dīn Mashhadī,³ upon information received from Tātār Khān, commandant of Dihlī, and in accordance with the Emperor’s orders, brought Shahāb Khān Turkomān (who held the parganna of Bhōjpūr in fief, and with whom Amīn Diwāna,⁴ having escaped from Lāhōr, had taken refuge, and, having been supplied by him with a horse and pecuniary assistance, had gone off to join the rebels) to Court, where he was 94 executed.

¹ In order to disguise themselves, and look like Sannyāsi-s.

² In the 10th year he came to Court to obtain pardon for Ālī Qulī Khān, Khān Zamān. When the latter rebelled again, in the 12th year, Mīrzā Mirak Razawī was imprisoned.

³ Son of Mīr Qāsim, a Mūsawī Sayyid of Mashhad. He came in 961, with Humāyūn, to India. Blochm. 406.

⁴ He had been imprisoned for attempting the life of one of the Imperial Generals. Elliot, V. 319.

When the Emperor arrived at Āgra, news came that Khān Zamān. was besieging Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān Mashhadī,¹ who had shut himself up in Shergarh (which is generally known by the name of Qannouj). Upon the receipt of the intelligence, leaving the Khān-khānān in charge of Āgra, the Emperor on the 26th² of Shavvāl,³ in the year nine hundred and seventy-four (974), marched towards Jounpūr. And the weather was so hot that the marrow of creatures melted in their bones:—

The air again was so hot that, even in running water, . .

The crab through heat laid its breast on the ground.

Even the moist river, from the mouth of which water ever flows,

Through fever became dry-lipped, like a bilious person.'

And when the town of Sakit had become the camping-place of the imperial army, news came in that Khān Zamān had raised the siege [of Shergarh], and fled towards Mānikpūr, where was his brother Bahādur Khān. Accordingly, from the town of Bhōjpūr the Emperor detached a body of 6,000 veteran troopers under the command of Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās, Muzaffar Khān, Rāja Todar Mal, Shāh Budāgh Khān, and his son 'Abd-ul-Maṭlab Khān and Ḥusain Khān (who at that time had arrived from Satwās) to march towards Ondh to oppose Sikandar. At first Ḥusain Khān was appointed to lead the vanguard of this division of the imperial army; but, since he had arrived in a most deplorable and poverty-stricken state, on account of the protracted siege he had sustained in the fortress [of Satwās],⁴ he went to the parganna of Shamsābād, which he had lately acquired, to obtain supplies for his army, and some little delay took place in his rejoining the army: consequently Qiyā Khān was appointed in his place.

The author was with the aforesaid Khān on this occasion. And when he passed on from Shamsābād, I remained in that town. The
95 following is one of the marvels, which took place there, to which a number of trustworthy inhabitants of that city

¹ Son of Mīr Aḥmad i Razawī. He was a great favourite with Akbar.

² The Ṭabaqāt i Akbarī has 'Monday the 23rd.' Elliot, V. 319.

³ The 10th month.

⁴ See above, p. 87.

bore witness. A few days before this it happened that, on a certain night, a boy of tender age, belonging to a washerman, fell asleep on a couch on the banks of the river Ganges. Suddenly he fell into the river, and the strong stream carried him as far as the town of Bhojpūr (which is 10 *cosse*s distant), and landed him safely on the bank. A relative of the washerman took out the child, and recognizing it brought it back in the morning to its mother and father :—

‘ He is the Absolute Omnipotent,
Who ruleth as He wills,
He is, in truth, the Judge,
Who acteth, as it pleaseth Him.’

And, when the imperial camp was pitched at the town of Rāi Barēli, news arrived that Khān Zamān and Bahādur Khān had crossed the river Ganges and fled towards Kālpī. Consequently the Emperor, directing that the camp, under Khwājah Jahān, should be moved on towards Karaḥ, set off with all speed for Mānikpūr. Mounted upon an elephant he crossed the stream, and at that time there were not with him more than fifteen or sixteen¹ persons. And Majnūn Khān, and Āṣaf Khān, who were in the vanguard, kept from time to time sending back information concerning the whereabouts of the enemy.

It so happened that Khān Zamān and Bahādur Khān, over whose eyes Fate had drawn the blinding iron of negligence, in accordance with the following :—

‘ When Fate² lets down its wings from the sky,
All the prudent become blind and deaf ’—

had spent the whole night at a wine-party, and in watching an exhibition of Pātar-dancing,³ and, their cup being full, they looked on the intelligence of the enemy’s advance, which the scouts kept bringing in, as merely an act of rashness on the part of Majnūn⁴

¹ The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, according to Elliot, p. 320, says 1,000 to 1,500 men.

² *Viz.* The Decree of Death: *Dīra Necessitas*. With these lines compare the well-known saying: *Quos deus vult perdere prius dementat*!

³ *Pātar*, in Hindūstānī means a dancing girl.

⁴ He was the fief-holder (*zamīndār*) of Mānikpūr.

Khān (for which they cared no more, than for a measure stuffed with straw); but, as for the Emperor's approach, they had no intimation of it, and indeed never dreamt of such a thing.

On this day the Emperor was mounted on an elephant named 96 *Sundar*,¹ and he placed Mirzā Kokah, surnamed A'zam Khān in the *houda* with him. He took up his station in the centre, and placed Āṇaf Khān, and all the Atkas,² on the right, and Majnūn Khān, and others, on the left. Now the Khān Zamān had given orders for his army to march in the morning. But sunk, as he was, in sleep and the wine, which he had drunk, he was wakened only by the Messenger of Fate. Then, by the exhibition of standards and paraphernalia of majesty, and the glory of the cavalcade, and the pompous beating of kettle-drums, he became certain that the Emperor in person was with the army. Accordingly, he ordered his troops to fall in, and began to draw up his lines. First he dispatched a body of renowned heroes, veterans in service, to oppose the advance of the vanguard of the imperial army. But Bābā Khān Qāqshāl, who was leader of the archers, with a well-directed shower of arrows repulsed them, and drove them back on the Khān Zamān. At this moment one of the horses of the fugitives rushed with terrific force against the horse of the Khān Zamān, so that through the concussion his turban became loosened from his head, and caught him round the neck like a lasso. At the sight of this occurrence [his brother] Bahādur Khān, planting firmly the foot of desperation, charged Bābā Khān with such fury, that he compelled him to retreat, and sweeping him before him, bore him back on the ranks of Majnūn Khān. Then Majnūn Khān, and Bahādur Khān, who had returned to the thick of the fray from the pursuit of fugitives, fell upon one another, and showed great courage. But an arrow struck the horse of Bahādur Khān, which reared and threw him to the ground, so that he was taken prisoner :—

‘ When the key of victory is not in the hand,
One cannot open the door of victory by force.’

¹ From Sanskrit *sundara*, beautiful.

² See above, p. 92, note 4.

At this juncture the Emperor dismounted from his elephant, and got on horse-back, and ordered that the troop of mountain-formed elephants should charge the ranks of the Khān Zamān: and then the fortune of the day began to waver, and the signs of victory began to decide in the Emperor's favour:—

‘The sword of kings doth show such marks,
The great do such deeds as beseem them.
Look at a king's sword, read not the annals of the past,
For, more sooth-saying is his sword—much!’

And an elephant, Hīrānand by name, on the side of the 97 imperial army, charged an elephant, named Oudyā, on the enemy's side, and came with such force against the head of that animal, that it felled it to the ground. And midst this hubbub and confusion, an arrow struck the horse of the Khān Zamān; and, while he was in the act of pulling it out, another arrow struck it, and it reared up and the Khān Zamān fell to the ground. At this moment an elephant-driver, riding on an elephant named Narsingh, came up; and, although the Khān Zamān kept saying to him: ‘I am a great leader, take me alive to the king, and you will get a great reward,’ the elephant-driver would not listen, but drove on his elephant, which crushed him with its trunk and feet, and ground his bones to powder, and made his body like a bag full of chess-pieces:—

‘The huge-form of elephants dashed [him] crushed to the
ground,
An earthquake threw [him] on the surface of the earth:
Through all these tusks, which were weighers-out of evil,
The face of the ground became a [strewed] chess-board.’

After that the turmoil of battle had subsided, Nazar Bahādur made Bahādur Khān ride behind him on the same horse, and brought him to the Imperial Presence.¹ The Emperor did not wish to put him to death, but asked him: ‘Bahādur how are you.’ He replied, ‘Praise is due to God in all circumstances.’ And when he asked for

¹ The word for ‘Presence’ is *Nazar*, with a play on the name Nazar Bahādur.

water, the Emperor gave him some out of his approach, they had no intention about his execution.

And after a time the head of the Khān Z named A'zam Khān in in. And for some time there was a dispute on in the centre, and the Khān Zamān's or no. At this juncture a P the right, and Majnūn Zamān's *wakīl*, who was of the number of the ān Zamān had given head, and, putting it upon his own, began to lal. sunk, as he was, And Khwājah Daulat a eunuch, who had once been in service, and had afterwards given in his adhesion to the Emperor, and has now attained the title of Daulat Khān, said : "The way to find 98 out whether the head is really that of Khān Zamān is this. He used always to chew betel-leaf on the right side [of his mouth], consequently his teeth on the right side will be black." And so they found them. These affairs took place in the twelfth year of the reign, on the Monday in the first week of the month Zī-ḥijjah² of the year nine hundred and seventy-four (974), in the neighbourhood of the village of Mankarwāl, one of the dependencies of Pairag³ now known as Alāhābās. And some, who had formerly thought good to accept service under Khān Zamān, and had therefrom sucked no small advantage, found this *mnemosynon* for the date of his death :—

"When Khān Zamān from the world went to the winds,
The pillar of the sky fell down head over heels,
The date of his death I asked of Wisdom ; he said :
Heaven having lost its support, raised a cry of despair."⁴

¹ This word, which is not found in our Dictionaries, recurs at p. 238, l. 8 *infra* of the Text. It may be connected with the Hindūstānī *Karū'ā* (Sanskrit *Karaka*) 'an earthen pipkin.' Or it may have been borrowed, by some means or other, from the Mahratti, in which there is a word *Karolī* 'a vessel made of cocoa-nut shell.'

• The twelfth month.

• *Prayāga* was a holy place on the *left* bank of the Ganges, the ruins of which are still to be seen at Jhusī. It was never a *city* until Akbar made it such, and then not on the left, but on the *right* bank, under the name *Alāh-ābād* or *ābād*.

⁴ The numerical values of the letters of this line are 80 + 200 + 10 + 1 + 1 + 7 + 4 + 60 + 400 + 80 + 30 + 20 + 12 + 2 + 50 + 11 + 4 = 975, which is one too many.

(mercy upon him!) But afterwards, when the Çadr,¹ and Qāzī, and Shaikh-ul-Islām represented to His Majesty that Mīr Khusrou was a native of India, and a Sunnī, while Mīr Murtazā was a native of 'Irāq and a heretic,² and that consequently Mīr Khusrou would be very much annoyed by his company; for there can be no doubt, but that:—

“To the spirit the presence of the base is a fearful torment”—

the Emperor gave orders, that they should take him up from that place, and bury him elsewhere. And this was a great act of injustice to both of them, as cannot be denied. And some one found out the date of the Mīr to be contained in the following:—*Knowledge has deserted the knowing.* And another combined exactly the same letters into the following:—*The paragon has left the world.*³

And in this year one of the friends of the Author, Shaikh Abu-l-Fath by name, brother of Shaikh Sa'd u-llāh, son of Shaikh Badah, who was one of the most powerful nobles of Bayānāh, passed from the world. And his date was found to be:—

“Ab-ul-Fath, that eye of the intelligent!

For in this revolving sphere you will never see his like,

When he went from the world, the date of his death

Seek in the words: *Repository of excellencies.*”⁴

And among the circumstances of this time is the following: Mīrzā Nizām-ud-Dīn Ahmad (mercy on him!) who was an intimate companion of the Author, and who had a boundless and extreme predilection for myself, said to me personally (and it is written, moreover, in the *Tarikhi Nizāmī*).⁵ that when, during the time of the rebellion and hostility of Khān Zamān, news-mongers, and especially drug and opium takers, used every day in Āgrah to spread gloomy reports, one

¹ Apparently Shaikh 'Abd-un-nabī; see p. 71, Text.

² That is a *Shī'ah*, or follower of 'Alī.

³ 76 + 30 + 40 + 1 + 7 + 70 + 30 + 40 + 1 + 200 + 8 + 400 + 5 = 974.

⁴ 80 + 800 + 11 + 30 + 40 + 1 + 2 + 10 = 974.

⁵ That is the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*. See Elliot, V. 321.

day, when they were sitting three or four friends together, it came into his mind to say 'What think you, if we were with one con- 100 sent to spread a report, that they are now bringing in the heads of Khān Zamān, and Bahādur Khān?' Accordingly they told this news to several persons, so that it became a common rumour. And on that very day, on which this news was spread abroad in Āgrah, Khān Zamān and Bahādur Khān were actually slain, and the third day one named 'Abd-u-llāh, the father of Murād Bēg, brought their heads to Āgrah, and thence carried them to Dihli, Lāhor, and Kābul:—

“Many an omen that's uttered in play,
When Fate so decrees comes true on that day.”

And the Emperor, after this victory, would not at first trust any of those who had been led into rebellion by that fellow. He proceeded to Allāhābās, and seizing some who had fled from the Court and joined themselves to the rebellious party, he delivered them over to keepers. And Mirzā Mirak Razawī¹ who had fled from Dihli, he had thrown under the feet of an elephant, but the elephant only gave him a few rubs with his trunk, so the Emperor, with a view to pleasing the Sayyids,² pardoned him. But some others of the inciters of rebellion he brought to execution and *'What bloodshed took place.'* was found to give the date. And to some of the people of the Khān Zamān, who had advanced far on the road to despair, he granted their lives.

And with regard to killing those of Khān Zamān's party, who had been taken prisoners, when Qāzī Ṭawāisi (the camp-Qāzī, who was endued with the qualities of honesty, truth-speaking, and trustworthiness) represented to His Majesty that to kill these people, after the battle was over, and to confiscate their goods and chattels, would not be in accordance with the Holy Law, the Emperor was 101 displeased with him, and chose and appointed in his stead Qāzī Ya'qūb, an inhabitant of Karah (who was renowned for his profound knowledge of legal matters, and was son-in-law of Qāzī Fazilat¹ Shērshāhī, whom they used to term Qāzī Fazīhat, and who, for all that, was never at a loss for good sayings, and jokes). He held this office for ten years, when he was superseded, and Qāzī Jalāl-ud-dīn Multānī was appointed in his stead, as will be narrated in its place, if God, (He is exalted!) will:—

“ Put not thy foot into any office, lest thou
Become the butt of placing, and displacing.”

Meanwhile the Khān Khānān, who before this had received a *farmān* summoning him from Āgrah, arrived at Court and did homage. The Emperor gave him all the *jāgīrs* of Bahādur Khān and Khān Zamān, from Jounpūr and Banāras as far as Ghāzīpūr and the fortress of Ohunar and Zamāniyah to the ford of the river Jūsah, and having presented him with a robe of honour and a horse, dismissed him to his *jāgīrs*. In Zī-ḥijjah² of the aforesaid year in the midst of the rainy season the Emperor set out, and in Muḥarram³ in the year nine hundred and seventy-five (975) his Majesty alighted at the Capital.


In this year Muḥammad Qnī Khān Barlās, and Muzaffar Khān, and the force which had been sent against Sikandar Uzbek in Oudh, blockaded him in that fort, and every day skirmishes took place. When news of the death of Khān Zamān and Bahādur Khān came to his ears, he utterly lost heart. First he laid before the Amīrs proposals of peace, and having engaged them in negotiations, he

¹ *Fazilat* means ‘excellence,’ by the change of one letter it becomes *Fazīha* ‘infamy.’

² The twelfth month.

³ The first month.

embarked in a boat and crossed over to the other side of the river Sirw. Then, still treating for peace, he requested that some of the Amirs would put out alone from their side, and he himself with three or four persons put off from the other side in a boat, and the treaty and oath was confirmed on both sides, and it was agreed that they should bring him to the Court: but afterwards he would not 102 abide by the terms, but went off to among the Afghāns. The Amirs pursued him as far as Gorāk'hpūr, and then wrote a statement of the case to Court: and, when they received a *farmān* ordering them to repair to the Court, they hastened thither, leaving Muhammad Quli Barlas in Oudh.

And in this year the intention was formed of reducing the fortress of Chitor. Accordingly the Emperor took away Biyāna from Hājī Muhammad Khān Sistānī, and gave it as *jāgīr* to Āṣaf Khān; and Basawar and Wādrpūr Mandalgah he also gave to him, on the understanding that he should proceed thither, and collect provisions and materials for the army. The Emperor set out after him, and travelling by way of Bāri and hunting in Mou-maidānah, proceeded thence towards Sūpar. The subjects of Rāi Sarjan evacuated the fort of Sūpar, and Nazar Bahādur was appointed commandant of that fort, and Shāh Muhammad Khān Qandahārī to hold the fort of Kotah Balāyah. When the Emperor arrived at the fort of Kākarūn, having given to Shahāb-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān and Shāh Bidāgh Khān *jāgīrs* in the district of Mālwah, he appointed them to quell the disturbances caused by the sons of Muhammad Sulṭān, viz. Mirzā Uluḡh and Shāh Mirzā, who had fled thither from Sam-bhal. When the Amirs reached Ujjain, the Mirzās hearing the said news left that country, and went to Gujrat to Changīz Khān a follower of Sulṭān Maḥmūd. Thus Mālwah fell into the hands of the Amirs without their striking a blow. And Rānā Udaī Sing, committing the keeping of the fortress of Chitor to one Rāi Jaimal by name (a brave and chivalrous commander, who had been besieged by Mirzā Sharfuddīn Husain in the fortress of Mirt'hah and had cut his way out), himself took refuge in the high mountain ground and impassable jungles in the neighbourhood of Udaipūr Komal-mair. Āṣaf Khān marched to Rāmpūr, which is an inhabited district in that region, and took the fortress by  103

and ravaged the district. And Ḥusain Qulī Khān marched towards Udaipūr, and ravaged the environs; but the Rānā left that place for some other maze-like mousehole.

The Emperor ordered *Sābāṭs*¹ and trenches to be constructed, and gradually brought close to the walls of the fortress. The width of the *Sābāṭ* was such that ten horsemen could easily ride abreast in it, and its height was so great that a man on an elephant with spear in hand could pass under it. Many of the men of our army were killed by musket and cannon balls, and the bodies of the dead were made use of instead of bricks and stones. After a length of time the *Sābāṭ* and trenches were brought up to the foot of the fortress, and they undermined two towers which were close together, and filled the mines with gunpowder. A party of men of well-known bravery fully armed and accoutred approached the towers, and waited till the towers should fall, and then they would enter the fortress. By accident, though the two mines were fired at one and the same moment, the fuse of one, which was shorter than the other took effect soonest, and the fuse of the latter, which was longer, hung fire, so that one of the two towers was blown up from its foundations and heaved into the air, and a great breach was made in the castle. Then the forlorn hope in their impetuosity forgetting the second mine stormed the breach at once, and soon effected a lodging. While the hand-to-hand struggle was going on, suddenly the second fuse went off and blew the other tower, which was full, both of friends and foes, from its place and lifted it into the air. The soldiers of Islām were buried under stones, some of 100, and some of 200 *man* in weight, and the stony-hearted infidels in like manner flew about like moths in that flood of fire. Those stones were blown as far as three or four *cosses*, and a cry of horror arose from the people of Islām and from the infidels:—

104 “ This stream flowed to Paradise, that to Hell,
 Though the blood of Guebre and of believer both flowed
 in one place.”

¹ A *Sābāṭ* is a kind of wall which is begun at musket-shot distance from the fort, and under the shelter of its planks, strongly fastened together and covered with raw hides, a kind of way is conducted to the fortress. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*. Elliot V, 326.

And a happy day was it for the vultures and crows
(Glory to Him who multiplieth food for his creatures!)

Nearly five hundred warriors, most of them personally known to the Emperor, were slain, and drank the draught of martyrdom: and of the Hindūs who can say how many! Night by night the infidels mustering in force kept building up the wall of the fortress from the ruins of these towers.

After waiting a considerable time, six months more or less, at last on the night of Tuesday 25th of Sha'bân¹ in the aforesaid year the Imperial troops advancing from all sides, made a breach in the wall of the fortress, and stormed it. The fierce face of Jaimal became visible through the flashing of the fire of the cannon and guns, which was directed against the soldiers of Islām. At this juncture a bullet struck the forehead of Jaimal, who was distinctly recognizable, and he fell dead. It was as though a stone had fallen among a flock of sparrows, for, when the garrison of the fortress saw that their leader was dead, they fled every one to their own houses. Then they collected their families and goods together and burnt them, which is called in the language of Hind *jouhar*. Most of those that remained became food for the erocodile of the blood-drinking sword, and a few of those who remained, who escaped the sword and the fire, were caught in the noose of tribulation. The whole night long the swords of the combatants desisted not from the slaughter of the base, and returned not to the scabbard, till the time for the afternoon *siesta* arrived. Eight thousand valorous Rājapūts were slain. The following line was found to give the date:—

“My heart said: *He quickly took Chītōr.*”²

After midday the Emperor ordered the sacking to cease, and returned to the camp. He remained there three days, and wrote letters announcing the victory, and despatched them in all directions. Then, having appointed Āṣaf Khān to the command of that district, on the morning of Tuesday 25th³ of the aforesaid month 105

¹ The eighth month.

² $2+20+300+1+4+2+7+6+4+10+3+10+400+6+200=975$.

³ So too the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*; but there is evidently some mistake.

the victorious standards moved towards Āgrah. And by way of performing a vow the Emperor walked the whole way on foot, and on Sunday 7th of the month Ramzān¹ he arrived at Ajmīr. There he paid a visit to the holy mausoleum of the blessed bestower of blessings the Saint Khwājah Mu'in-ud-dīn Chishtī (God sanctify his tomb!), and having occupied himself in alms, and good and pious works, after ten days he rode off towards the capital. And Mīr 'Alā'uddoulah,² author of the "Biography of the Poets," made this *mnemosynon* :—

"The Shāh cherishing the Faith, enthroned like Jamshīd,
The Khusrou of his age, Muḥammad Akbar,
Made, without doubt, for the conquest of Chitōr
A mortar brazen-bodied, dragon-faced.
For the date there came from the unseen world [the voice] :
'It was altogether a *Chitōr taking mortar*.³'"

When the Emperor arrived in the neighbourhood of Alwar⁴ he took to lion-hunting. And 'Ādil Muḥammad Khān, son of Shāh Muḥammad Khān Qandahārī, who was himself as brave as a lion, went to face the animal [which was rushing upon the Emperor], and both he and the beast were killed. Then the Emperor separated himself from the camp, and went to Nārnoul. There he visited Shaikh Nizām Nārnoulī (who was one of the greatest Shaikhs), and in the fulness of his faith entreated his prayers, and then continued his journey to the capital. In this year the second marriage of the Author took place at Badāōn, and in accordance with: "And verily the latter is better for thee than the former⁵" it turned out

¹ The ninth month.

² Qazwīnī, with the *nom de plume* Kāmī. This book contains notices of about 350 poets most of them flourishing in India during the reign of Akbar. It was begun in 973 A. H. and completed according to a Postscript in 979. But there occur much later dates in it. Sprenger, *Catalogue &c.*, I, 46. Perhaps the Author originally completed his work in 979, but continued to add to it from time to time.

³ $5 + 10 + 20 + 3 + 10 + 400 + 6 + 200 + 20 + 301 = 975$.

⁴ Compare p. 6 note 5.

⁵ Al Qur'ūn XCIII, 4, where however the meaning is: "And verily the Future shall be better for thee than the Present."

to it happily, thanks to God!, and I composed the following *mnemosynon*:

"When to me, through the eternal bounty,
There was union with a moon-faced one,
My intellect uttered the date of the marriage,
The Moon is in conjunction with the sun."¹

And in this year that model of men of thought, and beau ideal of the Shaikhs who practice perfection, Shaikh 'Abdul-'azīz of Dihli (God sanctify his spirit!) departed to the other world, and the following *mnemosynon* was recited:—

"The glorious one of the world Shaikh 'Abdul-'azīz, 106
Whom all the world calls the Pole-star of Dihli,
Turned his cheek towards the plain of eternity,
And from this narrow defile mounted the steed of his ambition
I enquired of my heart, what was the date,
It replied, *The Pole-star of Religion is no more.*"²

And since the Shaikh used constantly to sign himself "The worthless atom 'Abdul-'azīz," a clever fellow discovered the *mnemosynon*:
Worthless atom.

In the year nine hundred and seventy-six (976) the Emperor sent for the whole Atgah clan and Kamāl Khān G'hakkar from the Panjāb, and gave their *jāgīrs* to Ḥusain Quli Khān and his brother smā'il Quli Khān, and appointed them to that district. Then Ḥusain Quli Khān and his brother, having come from Nāgor, after the taking of Rintambhor obtained permission to go to the Panjāb; and the district of Sambhal and Bareilly was confirmed to Khānī Kālān.³

¹ 40 + 1 + 5 + 10 + 100 + 200 + 10 + 50 + 40 + 5 + 200 + 10 + 300 + 1 = 975. There seems to be a play on the words *mahr*, "marriage gift," and *mīhr* "Sun."

² 100 + 9 + 2 + 9 + 200 + 10 + 100 + 400 + 50 + 40 + 1 + 50 + 1 = 975.

³ 700 + 200 + 5 + 50 + 1 + 3 + 10 + 7 = 976. The clever fellow was evidently "one too many for him"!

⁴ Muḥammad Khān Atgah.

In this year the Mirzās, the sons of Muḥammad Sulṭān Mirzā, who had gone to Gujrāt, and taken refuge with Chingīz Khān, having behaved badly and laid hands of spoliation on the *jāgīrs*, fled from Chingīz Khān, and came to Mālwah, and besieged Muḥammad Murād Khān and Mirzā ‘Aziz-ullāh of Maslihad in the fort of Ujjain. Then Ashraf Khān, *Mīr Munshī* and Çādiq Muḥammad Khān, who with a considerable number of the Imperial army had been appointed to act against Rintambhor, when they heard this news, represented the matter at Court, and received orders to turn aside to Ujjain and undertake the repression of the revolt in conjunction with Qulij Khān, who had been sent after them to join in the reduction of Rintambhor. And at Saronj Shahāb-ud-dīn Aḥmad Khān, and at Sārangpūr Shāh Bidāgh Khān formed a junction with the aforesaid Amīrs, and so a very considerable force was gathered 107 together. Then the Mirzās on hearing this news raised the siege of Ujjain, and went to Mandū, and the great Amīrs pursued them. When the Mirzās had crossed the river Narbaddah, they received news that Jahjar Khān the Abyssinian had surprised Chingīz Khān when off his guard at the open space by the gate of Aḥmad-ābād, and had slain him, so that Gujrāt was now free to them. So the Mirzās hastened to Gujrāt, and took the fort of Chāmpānīr at the first assault. And laying siege to the fort of Bhroj, after some time they managed by a ruse to capture Rastam Khān Rūmī, who was shut up in that fortress, and put him to death, and also took possession of the fortress. Qulij Khān, and Çādiq Muḥammad Khān, and the other great Amīrs, returned from the banks of the Narbaddah and came to Court; but the *jāgīr*-holders of Mandū remained where they were.

At the beginning of the month Rajab¹ of this year the Emperor arrived at Dihlī, and occupied himself for some days in *Qamorghah*² hunting in the neighbourhood of the Parganna of Pālam, and afterwards in the latter part of the month Sha‘bān³ he came by successive days marching, and invested the fort of Rintambhor. In a short

¹ The seventh month.

² Compare p. 93. note 3.

³ The eighth month.

time *Sābāts*¹ were constructed and brought close up to the castle. And the *Kahārs*,² of whom there were some seven or eight hundred, drew fifteen pieces of ordnance, carrying balls of five to seven *man* in weight by main force to the top of the hill Ran, which commands the fortress, and is mounted by so steep a path that even the foot of an ant would slip in climbing it. The first day they reduced the houses within the fort to ruins. Then Rāi Surjan, when he contemplated the disastrous loss of the fort of Chitōr, and the worthlessness of its garrison, foresaw his own fate, and sent his sons Dodā and Bhoj, by the intervention of some of the *zamīndārs*, to do homage to the Emperor, and himself asked for quarter. Then Husain, 108 Onli Khān *Khān Jahān*, came and gave assurances to Rāi Surjan and brought him to Court. He delivered up the key of the fortress, and on Wednesday the 3rd of Shawwāl³ of the aforesaid year the fortress was taken. And "*Victory*"⁴ repeated was found to give the date. Next day the Emperor with a small escort inspected the fortress in person. The fortress he gave in charge to Mihtar Khān Sulṭānī. Then leaving the camp under the command of Khwājah Amīnā (who is entitled *Khwājah Jahān*), and Muzaffar Khān, he gave the word to march towards Āgrāh. He himself went forward alone by forced marches with the intention of performing a pilgrimage to the tomb of that dispenser of splendours Khwājah Ajmīrī.⁵ On Wednesday the 24th of the month Zi-lqā'dah⁶ of the year nine hundred and seventy-six (976) he alighted at the Imperial Capital. And Mir Fāriḡhī, brother of Shāh Fatḥullāh Shīrāzī, composed the following *maticosynon* for the date of the taking of that fortress:—

"When the Rose of Victory blossomed in the garden of the king's conquest,

The announcer of the date said : *They took the fort quickly.*⁷"

¹ See p. 106.

² A *Hindūstānī* word denoting "palanquin-bearers," and so used here for "porters" in general. It is a contraction of the Sanskrit *karmakāra* "a hired-labourer."

³ The tenth month.

⁴ *Fath* = 80 + 400 + 8 = 488. Now $488 \times 2 = 976$.

⁵ Mu'īnuddīn Chishtī.

⁶ The eleventh month.

⁷ $100 + 30 + 70 + 5 + 20 + 200 + 80 + 400 + 50 + 4 + 7 + 6 + 4 = 976$.

And Mūlānā Shīrī¹ composed the following :—

“When by the fortune of the king the stronghold of infidelity
was taken,

Shīrī found its year to be : *The infidel-breaking king.*²”

And in this year the *Hatiyapūl*³ gate, which is the name of the
gate of the new fort of Āgrah, was completed, and the date of it is :—

“The pen of Shīrī wrote as the mnemosynon :—

The Elephant-gate is without compare.”

Now the Emperor had had several children in succession born to
him, and they had all passed away at a tender age. In this year
one of the Imperial wives became with child, and he went to beg
the intercession of Shaikh-ul Islām Chishtī living at Sikrī, and he
109 left his Empress at the monastery of the Shaikh. Some time before
this the Shaikh had foretold to him the happy birth of a son, and
after some days he had gone to visit the Shaikh in expectation
of the fulfilment of his promise. On account of this bond of union
between them the Emperor built a lofty palace on the top of the
hill of Sikrī near the monastery and ancient chapel of the Shaikh.
And he laid the foundation of a new chapel, and of a high and
spacious mosque of stone, so large that you would say it was a part
of a mountain, and the like of which can scarce be seen in the
habitable world. In the space of about five years the building was
finished, and he called the place Fathpūr, and he built a bazaar and
baths and a gate, &c. And the Amirs, one and all, built themselves
towers and keeps and lofty palaces. And the Author found the date
of the commencement of the whole palace, mosque, chapel, &c. to
be as follows :—

This chapel is the dome of Islām,
May God exalt the glory of its builder !

¹ See Sprenger, *Cat.* p. 59.

- 300 + 5 + 20 + 80 + 1 + 200 + 300 + 20 + 50 = 976.

³ Elephant-bridge.

+ 2 + 10 + 40 + 500 + 1 + 30 + 1 + 40 + 4 + 5 + 4 + 200 + 6 + 1 + 7
+ 5 + 80 + 10 + 20 = 976.

The Spirit Gabriel gave its date :
*Its like is not seen in the lands*¹

Another :—

“ *The heavenly Ka'bah*² came down from heaven.”

And Ashraf Khān found this *mucmosynon* :—

“ It is *second only to the Mosque at Mecca*.³”

And such was the disposition of that paragon of excellence, his Grace the Shaikh, that he allowed the Emperor to have the *entrée* of all his most private apartments, and however much his sons and nephews kept saying, “ Our wives are becoming estranged from us,” the Shaikh would answer “ There is no dearth of women in the world, since I have made you Amirs, seek other wives, what does it matter ? ”

“ Either make no friendship with an elephant-driver,
 Or make a house fit for an elephant.”

And among the remarkable events of this year is the story of the death of Sayyid Mūsā of Garmsir, son of Sayyid Mikrī, one of **110** the chief Sayyids of Kālpī in the land of India. It is concisely as follows. Sayyid Mūsā had come to do homage to the Emperor, and by chance he became infatuated with the Hindū wife of a goldsmith, named Mohini⁴, whose beauty was like gold of purest standard, and the lasso of her pure glance attracted him as her lover, and the bond of love and attachment grew strong on both sides.

“ Who is the lover, that the loved one regards not his state ?

O Khwājah it is not pain, or if it is there is a cure.”

¹ 30 + 1 + 10 + 200 + 10 + 80 + 10 + 1 + 30 + 2 + 30 + 1 + 4 + 500 + 1 + 50 + 10 + 5 + 1 = 976.

² 2 + 10 + 400 + 40 + 70 + 46 + 200 + 41 + 4 + 5 + 8 + 1 + 60 + 41 + 50 = 978.

³ 501 + 50 + 10 + 1 + 30 + 40 + 60 + 3 + 4 + 1 + 30 + 8 + 200 + 41 = 979.

⁴ Meaning in Sanskrit “ Infatuating.”

When the expedition set out to Rintambhor, Sayyid Mūsā contrived to remain behind. He took a house within the fortress of Āgrah in the vicinity of his beloved on the banks of the river Jumna, near to Mir Sayyid Jalāl Mutawakkil, and his affairs tended to madness. Once or twice accompanied by trusty persons of his own he had gone outside his own house, and had fallen either into the hands of the watchman, or into the hands of some goldsmiths of her caste:—

“There is an angel on the battlement of yon round cupola,
Which draws a wall before the desire of the unfortunate.”

A period of two years and four months passed, during which they were content with a glance now and then from afar, till one night Sayyid Mūsā, at a hint from that fascinating lady, threw a lasso, strong as the covenant of the just, and straight as the promise of the liberal, over the roof of Mohini's house, and climbed up like a rope-dancer, and so they spent the night together in chaste affection. A poem called *Dilfarīb*, which Sayyid Shāhī, brother of
111 Sayyid Mūsā, composed, has some verses on that subject:—

“However much the desire of the heart was boiling,
Modesty made a proclamation: Be silent!
Before his eyes the water of life,
But not for a moment the power to drink it.
Their hearts from extreme of thirstiness fevered,
But their lips were sealed through modesty.
One place of retirement, and two persons in love,
Their hearts united, their bodies apart.
They remained two heart-inflaming wounded ones,
In the game of “united yet apart” till morning.
This is true love in my opinion,
Which has driven out of the heart all thought of desire.
When the heart is once dead through desire,
How can love take up its abode therein?
There is not in this bewildered world
A place for love, save in the purest heart.
Love is the confidant of the pure in heart,
Love is the friend of the sorrowful.

In short, with a hundred caresses and blandishments
 They opened a thousand volumes of mysteries.
 And when they saw the dawn draw near,
 They bade each other adieu."

But at the time of saying adieu it so happened, that the beloved rising from the pillow of sleep, bade farewell to house and home, and despising fair fame and reputation, went with her lover, as the moonlight with the moon, or the shadow with the substance, and said:—

" O thou true and faithful lover,
 I am at one with thee, doubt not!
 The covenant, that first I made with thee,
 That covenant is the same as long as I live.
 Rise that we may show a care for ourselves,
 And may descend again from the roof.
 That, while it is not yet known,
 We may steal away before morning."

So they made off from that spot, borrowing swiftness from the wind, and speed from the water, and remained concealed for three days in the house of a trustworthy friend. Meanwhile the relatives of the lady surrounded the house of Sayyid Mūsā like a ring, and brought claims and litigation. And Sayyid Shāhī, the younger brother of the aforesaid Sayyid, who has a sincere friendship for 112 the writer of these pages, and put this story from beginning to end into verse, some of which verses have been quoted above, returned answer to them, and spent the time in 'Perhapses' and "Wouldthats." The lady was informed of that concourse, and her heart being alarmed for Sayyid Mūsā, lest he should come to any harm at the hands of the Governor, through stress of circumstances parted from that lover, and cheered him with the promise of meeting him again. She herself, through fear of the stain of dishonour, which might cleave to her cheek, returned to her house, and made the following excuse. She said: "On such and such a night, when sleep was firmly settled on my eyes, a person of such heart-ravishing form, that none ever sees the like of it in his dreams, took me by

But that fair one could not bear the pain of separation, so after some days she came to an understanding with that confidential friend, and said: "Do you one night in the guise of a beggar, raise a cry for alms, and I on the pretext of giving you something will come out of the house, and will go out of this city with you." So at the appointed time, under the pretext she had suggested, she left the house of her father and mother, and after her other ventures risking her modesty, which was her safeguard, she turned her face to flight:—

"As soon as grief for him became my friend.

I turned my face towards the road to non-existence.

Sweet is wandering to one,

Who has such a companion."

The preparations had been made beforehand. For three days they remained hidden in the city, and then with joyful hearts set off towards Fathpūr and Biyānah. As luck would have it, inasmuch as God (He is glorious!) willed it not, suddenly in the midst of the road some of the relatives of that Beauty appeared, like an unexpected misfortune, and recognizing her by her charms, which were as evident as the light of day though she herself was veiled, took hold of her firmly by the skirt:—

"Who brought news of sorrow? who gave a warning of misfortune?"

The patrols of Pahluwān Jamāl, who at that time was police-magistrate, came up, and a great hubbub ensued. The fugitive fair one was handed over to her relatives, and her companion in flight
115 was sent to prison. When he had from the close confinement suffered long in misery and hardships, he managed somehow or other to effect his escape. News of these events was brought to the camp to the hapless and wandering Sayyid. Then he, who through sickness caused by separation had become as thin as a new moon, or a ghost, on hearing this news became desperate, and turned his thoughts to death, and even made preparation for self-destruction; but he came to the conclusion that Death could not at any time be very pleasant, so rending the collar of patience he desired to go to Āgrah.

His affectionate brothers, and sincere friends kept an eye on him, whether he would or no, restraining him sometimes by good advice, sometimes by force and threats and reproaches and abuse. At last, when the Imperial camp arrived at the Capital, and Sayyid Mūsā, who had before been merely wounded, was now consumed [by love], and however much he strove was unable to catch a sight of his beloved, because they kept her guarded in a strong place, one Qāzī Jamāl by name, a Hindī poet of Sivakanpūr, one of the dependencies of Kālpi, between whom and the Sayyid there existed a bond of the closest friendship, took his case very much to heart. So one evening at the hour of prayer he extricated that sitter in a corner of the hall of chastity¹ from the dark cell, and set her beside him on a charger head-tossing like the piebald steed of Fate, and wind-footed and prancing like the racer of the inconstant World, and along the bank of the river Jumna galloped as hard as he could up stream. The relatives of the woman came after him, and the inhabitants of the city who were spectators of the scene shouted in front of him. The horse stuck fast, like an ass in the mud, in the pits and canals, which had been made for purposes of irrigation, and like a chess-man he knew not how to move in stale-mate. Then the beautiful lady fell into despair, and throwing herself out of the saddle on the ground said to Qāzī: "Save your own life by flight, and take my greeting to my lover, and say to him this impromptu —

116

I have made every effort; but Fate says:

The business, which is another's, is out of thy power."

When Sayyid Mūsā received this message, he shut himself up in a place which he had within the fortress of Āgrah, and his spirit melted by vexation and despair, and his soul, like a heavenly bird, went forth in flight, and escaped from the four-walled prison of temperament, and was freed from the bond of friend and of enemy, while with his tongue he uttered thrice the following:—

"From the Beloved my heart has found a thousand lives,
A friend better than that it is impossible to find.

¹ That is *Mohini*.

O God! turn this sorrow to the profit of my broken and desolate heart.

Strike the dagger on my breast,
Cast also my head far from the body.
Throw open the door of this dark house,
Throw open the window also."

When he had despatched his baggage from this temporary lodging to the permanent habitation, they carried his empty corpse with its empty hands to its resting place in order to commit it to the earth. Both men and women made great lamentation: and it so happened that they bore his bier under the very window of that fair one. She, since at this time she was kept a prisoner, with a chain like her tangled tresses on her foot, remained bewildered and stricken on the roof of the house from morning till evening, and setting the seal of silence on her ruby lip, gazed on the bier of that martyr to love. Afterwards being powerless and restless, she uttered a cry, and threw herself just as she was from the lofty roof, and the chain broke from her foot. Like a mad person, with arms and feet naked she ran direct to the resting place of that traveller, who never tasted the joy of union. Her demeanour changed from time to time, sometimes silent, at others crazy, she dropped the head of bewilderment on the collar of sadness, and symptoms of decline
117 became manifest in her :—

"Awake! with a view to the last sleep,
Like a camel at 'Id,'¹ or a butcher's bullock.
The apple of her chin became through destiny
Withered like an apple of last year."

Her father and mother seeing her in this case at once despaired of her life, and forgave her delinquencies :—

"No one takes tribute from a ruined village."

And after that a total derangement, such as takes place in the pulse of persons on the point of death, became apparent in her whether .

¹ The festival at Mecca, at which camels were sacrificed.

in motion or at rest, every moment like one mad, and at war with herself, she would sit in a corner disconsolate, and beat her breast with a stone. Then making the pronounciation of the name of Sayyid Mūsā the practice of her lips and the amulet of her life, in the presence of the pious Mir Sayyid Jalāl, who was the religious leader of the day, she recited the confession of Islām, and cast herself on the dust of her pure lover, and surrendered her soul to her beloved,¹ as Sayyid Shāhī the author of that poem points out:—

“When the moon heard of this event,
 She came suddenly towards us in her wandering:
 She took upon her lips the confession of faith,
 She became a Musalmān before a congregation.
 When she obtained dignity from the religion of Islām,
 She put on the *Ihrām*² for the pilgrimage of eternity.
 When love became conjoined with her beauty,
 It burnt that taper as though it were a moth.
 She uttered a cry through affection and love,
 She took ‘Mūsā’ on her lips, and gave up her life.
 In one moment those two princes of love
 Became martyrs of the dagger of love.
 So that in the midst of the garden of paradise
 They might be hidden from all mankind.
 Those two spiritual companions
 Went away from this transitory world.
 From the pain and grief of separation they were freed,
 Concealed from all they sat together.
 O Sayyid why dost thou weep?
 Why dost give up thy heart to mourning?
 Forget all this misadventure,
 Strive after fortitude, and be still.”

Praise be to God for the gift of Doctrine, and Faith: The 113 author begs leave to observe, that although in strict accordance with his promise of conciseness, there was no room in this story for

O Fate! alas that thou hast made my heart wounded and desolate!

My content of heart thou hast utterly scattered.

A Jewel, that in my hand was hidden for others,

Thou hast openly carried it out of my sight and hidden it.

My Cypress thou hast carried from the garden to the prison of the tomb,

Thou hast made the garden a prison to me sorrow-stricken.

My Yūsuf thou hast given to the paw of the wolf,

Ah! me thou hast made a recluse in the cell of care.

In the dark *clay* thou hast put my new-born *rose*,¹

Why hast thou made my day just like dark night?

In a word that person, from whom was all my scope and aim,

Thou hast carried away, and left me without scope or aim.

That brother, who came to this strange city,

Thou hast made his grave in the desert beside strangers.

The season of the rose is come, and the *place* of Muḥammad is in the dust,

It is my *place* that through vexation I should throw dust on my head.

Finally, O mine Eye! what hast thou seen that thou art gone from the world?

That with thine eye covered thou art gone from my moist eye?

To my dark eye there was light from thy face,

The light is gone from my heart since thou art gone from my eye.

Thou wast to my eye like the signet of a ring.

In the end thou hast dropped from the ring like a signet-stone.

My heart for no cause is glad in the world,

A pity, a thousand pities, thou art gone sorrowful from the world.

Thy pure spirit was sore vexed at this halting-place,

Thou tookest up thy baggage, and departest from this halting-place of sorrow.

¹ Playing on the words *gil* 'clay' and *gul* 'rose.'

On thy heart from worldly matters there was no burden,
 All at once from worldly matters joyful and glad-hearted
 thou departest.

From the cradle I was to thee, companion and friend, every
 moment,

Why to the tomb art thou gone companionless and friendless?
 Thou art gone, and grief for thee will never go from this
 bewildered heart

Sorrow for thee will never go from my heart, as long as my
 life goes not for sorrow for thee,

Who is there that will tell me any news of thee?

Shall any give news of the departed soul to the body?

News of the rose, that has dropped through the injury of
 autumn.

Who is there, in short, that will tell it to the bird of the
 garden?

Where is there a messenger who my sorrow and grief face
 to face

One by one before thee gracefully will tell?

Who shall tell to you my words with his tongue, and then

For my consolation bring back the words from your
 tongue?

I am strait-hearted, rosebud-like, and there is none present,

Who will repeat to me a single letter from thee, O thou 130
 rosebud-mouthed.

There are a hundred knots and tangles in this heart for
 love of thee.

Who will tell to thee of this heart full of knots and tangles.

Thou art gone afar, and there has come no one from thy
 country

Who should tell me anything of thy state.

I go, and on the top of thy tomb I take my station,

That I may hear an answer from thee, and salute thee.

I say, O thou unfound jewel what is thy state?

With thy body wounded and helpless, what is thy state?

Thou art in the sleep of death, and w¹ heart wounded and
 fusion¹ hath arisen.
 Awake, and lift up thy head from this m¹attered.
 state? others,
 Through separation from thee thy friends m¹ and hidden it.
 condition, rden to the prison
 O thou who remainest separate from thy sorrow-stricken,
 thy state?
 Thy friends through *distance* from thee are a wolf.
 Far from company of companions what is thy state?
 Thy place was once in the Prayer-niche.² and now I see
 The niche left empty of thee, what is thy state?
 Without thee I drink the blood of my liver, ask me for once
 "In this drinking of blood what is thy state?"
 Over thy *clay* a hundred fresh *roses* have blossomed from
 my tears,
 Under the *clay* O thou fresh *rose* what is thy state?
 In such a woeful habitation who is nigh thee?
 The solacer of thy day, and friend of thy dark night who
 is he?
 O I am fallen far away from thy fair cheek,
 And I am fallen through thy absence into a hundred kinds
 of calamity.
 Thou art in the desert, while I remain in this strange city,
 O God! where art thou, and I to what place have I
 fallen?
 Thou hast not gathered thy whole weight of roses, and I
 know not now
 Why upon thee hath fallen a hundred hillocks of thorns
 and briars.
 I knew not the worth of thy presence, and this is the
 requital,
 That the day of retribution hath met with thee.
 I would have spent my soul in thy behalf, but what can I do?
 For thy business hath fallen under God's absolute decree.

131

¹ *Qiyāmat* means "Resurrection," also "Confusion."

² See Burton's *El-Medīnah and Meccah*, ii, 64.

On thy de was : He said, When the cypress fell,
 All at *erec* cypress *how suddenly it fell from its place!*¹
 thoudir wailing and erylng doth not profit,
 From e after prayer, for the turn is come for prayer.
 most God, that his affairs be all laudable,
 Why t that God may be satisfied equally with him and thee.
 Thon ord ! may his passage be into thy garden of Paradise,
 by the tower of the highest Paradise be his resting-place.
 Sorroen into the garden of Paradise he passes unveiling his
 beauty,
 May Houris and boys be on his right hand and his left.
 In the dark night, when he purposed the journey to the
 other world,
 May the light of Islām be the lamp of his dārk night.
 If there is no one who lights a lamp on his tomb,
 May the light of the merey of God be the taper on his tomb. 132
 Since he has taken away his bosom from the bride the old
 woman of Fate.
 May the fresh heavenly brides be in his bosom.
 Sinec after death no friend was with him,
 May the merey of God moment by moment be his friend.
 The drops of tears, which men shed over him.
 May each drop become a pure pearl and be devoted to him.
 To all eternity may his abode be the pinnaele of heaven,
 This prayer from me, and may from Gabriel come : Amen !

And in this year the building of the tomb of the late Emperor, which is heart-delighting, paradise-like, was completed. It is at Dihli on the banks of the river Jumna and took Mirak Mirzā Ghiyās eight or nine years to build. Its magnificent proportions are such that the eye of the speetator gazing on it admits it only with wonder.

On Thursday the 3rd of the month of Muḥarram² in the year nine hundred and seventy-eight (978) there took place in the house of

¹ 51 + 60 + 15 + 60 + 200 + 6 + 3 + 5 + 50 + 1 + 20 + 1 + 5 + 7 + 2 + 1
 + 1 + 80 + 400 + 1 + 4 + 5 = 978.

² The 1st month.

Shaikh Salim the rising of the star of prosperity and happiness, the Prince Murād. And a royal feast just like the former one was prepared. And Mūlānā Qāsim Arsalān composed a *qit'ah*, of which the first hemistich of each verse gives the date of the birth of those two princes, the first that of the first, and the second that of the second:—

“*The first prince, that shining moon,*¹
Rose like a moon from the pinnacle of glory.
*That second son of king Akbar*²
Came down like a descending revelation from heaven.”

Also there is another *mnemosynon* of the same kind:—

“*From the pure light, like Sultān Salim there descended.*
*The standard of Shāh Murād bin Akbar the just.”*³

And Khwājah Husain Marwī composed a *qit'ah* of seven verses, in 133 which each first hemistich gives the date of the birth of the first prince, and each second hemistich the date of the birth of the second:—

“*This sky gave two princes to the king,*⁴
*The face of both was better than the sun.*⁵
The first of them was second to the king of the world,
The second of them was a heart-stealer of lofty power.
The one through good luck to the king on the throne
Brought the news of a hundred open doors.
The other was cause of peace and security,
The sun gave him from the moon a sleeping-cradle.
The news that a king is born arises from the first,
And of that the first hemistich gives the answer.
From the second hemistich of each verse
Find thou the birth of the second prince.

¹ 7 + 30 + 10 + 50 + 300 + 5 + 7 + 5 + 10 + 51 + 400 + 3 + 50 + 4 + 5 + 40 + 6 = 983.

² 51 + 10 + 40 + 80 + 200 + 57 + 5 + 20 + 202 + 7 + 300 + 6 = 978.

³ Each of these lines gives 977.

⁴ This line gives 977.

⁵ This line gives 978.

May there be to that king, and to that prince.

The pomp of Alexander, and the glory of Afrāshyāb."

On the 20th of Rabi'lākhir of this year the Emperor departed from Fathpūr, where he had remained twelve days, and then went towards Ajmir with the intention of paying his vows. He laid the foundations of a fortress in the environs of that pure city, and ordered a lofty palace to be built by the great Amīrs. On Friday the 4th of Jamādi'l Ākhir marching thence he came in the course of twelve days to Nāgor. And he ordered the great tank of that city to be dug out, and distributed the work among the Amīrs, and he named it *Shukr-talāo*.¹

Muḥibb 'Alī Khān, son of Mīr Khalifah, who for a long time had given up military service and lived in retirement, through the intervention of his wife Nāhid Bēgum, whose mother was wife to Mīrzā 'Isā Tarkhān, ruler of Tattah, was at this time graciously received: and the Emperor having presented him with a standard and kettledrum, and given him a *jāgīr* in Multān, and having written to Sa'id Khān Moghūl, ruler of Multān, in his behalf, and having sent with him his grandson Mujāhid Khān, who was a very brave and daring soldier, appointed him to take Tattah. He entered Multān, and keeping nearly 400 horsemen in his own *jāgīr*, sent some to Sultān Muḥammad, governor of Bakkar, with this message: "You have often said that if I came here, I should need no other help but yours, now I have promised to take Tattah and deliver it over to the Emperor. This was represented at Court, and in full reliance on your co-operation the Emperor has appointed me to this kingdom. And now the moment for rendering assistance is come." He wrote in answer: "If you come by way of Jaisalmīr to reduce Sind, I will send you assistance; but I will not let you pass by way of Bakkar, for I have no confidence in you." Muḥibb 'Alī Khān and Mujāhid Khān set off by the other route, and Sultān Maḥmūd collected his army and sent it to oppose them. Muḥibb 'Alī Khān came off victorious in the engagement which ensued, and after the defeat besieged the Bakkar-ites in the fortress of Mānēlah. That 135 fortress he took on terms of capitulation and quarter. Then Sultān Maḥmūd sent the remnant of his army, consisting of gunners and archers, from the fortress of Bakkar to engage Muḥibb 'Alī Khān. They met with the same fate as before, and then retreated to the fortress and there made a resolute stand. But, since the crowding of people within the fortress was very great, the air became fearfully contaminated, and a terrible pestilence came on, so that 1,000 persons, more or less, died every day. At last in the year nine hundred and eighty-three (983) Sultān Maḥmūd, who was an aged decrepit and imbecile old-man, himself succumbed, and the fortress fell into the hands of the Emperor. Then he sent Mīr Gesū from Fatlpūr to examine the stores and treasures of the place.

In this year Mun'im Khān, Khān Khānān, came from Jounpūr, and brought with him Iskandar Khān Uzbek, who had escaped from

‘What need of joy or sorrow, for happiness or misery,
For while you wink your eye you see neither one nor the other?’

And in this year Jamāl Khan, son of Shaikh Mangan of Badāūn, who was a person of decided beauty, and one of my old hosom friends, being at Sambhal with Khan Kalān on the feast of Qurbān,¹ was attacked with bowel-complaint, and having been administered a mouthful of arca-mut by an ignorant hand fell sick and died. And this is the *mnemosynon* which was formed for the date:—

136

“A hundred sighs for the youth and beauty of Jamāl Khān.”

And the Shaikh of nations Shaikh Yaqūb Qarfi of Kashmīr invented this *mnemosynon*:—

“He gave up life on the Feast of Qurbān.”

And in the year nine hundred and seventy-nine (979) the royal palace at Āgrah, and another palace in the new town of Fathpūr were finished. And Qāsim Arsalān composed the *mnemosynon*:

“Two buildings like the highest heavens have been completed
In the time of the reign of the Lord of Conjunction of the seven
climes,
One is in the city of the metropolis Āgrah,
The other in the district of Sikrī abode of Shaikh Salim.

¹ The fifth month.

² The 10th of Zi-l-hajjah. See Burton III. p. 280 seq.

³ Gives 928 (!).

⁴ Gives 977 (!).

Heaven for the sake of the date of these two lofty palaces
Has written with its ancient pen : *Two highest paradises.*"¹

And towards the end of the blessed month of Ramzān² of this year Shaikh Salim Chishtī of Fatlpūr (who was one of the greatest Shaikhs of Hind, and a high master of the different stages of advancement in the knowledge of God, a little of whose history will be written in the sequel to this epitome, if God, He is exalted!, will) passed from the abode of transient pride to the abode of lasting glory. And one *mnemosyon* for his death is "*Shaikh i Hindī*;"³ and another :—

"The date of the death of Shaikh Islām [is]
The Shaikh of sages, and the Shaikh of princes."⁴

In this year a dreadful event happened to the compiler of this epitome. It is briefly as follows : When Kānt and Golah became the *jāgīr* of Muḥammad Ḥusain Khān, and I, in accordance with the decree of fate, remained some time in his service, and became *Ḥadr* of that province, and had the responsibility of ministering to the faqirs, on the occasion of a pilgrimage to the shrine of that illustrious luminary, that Shaikh of nobles, that marvel of truth and religion, Shāh Madār (God sanctify his glorious tomb!) at Makampūr one of the dependencies of Qannouj, I, this son of man who have imbibed my mother's crude milk, through the nature of my disposition which
137 is compounded of innate carelessness (which is the cause of wrongdoing and repentance) and of radical ignorance (which conduces to presumption and damage, and has descended to me from the father of all flesh) wilfully closed the eyes of my intellect, and gave it the name of love. So I was captured in the net of desire and lust, and the secret contained in the ancient writing of fate was revealed, and suddenly in that shrine I committed a terrible piece of impropriety. But since the chastisement as well as the mercy of

¹ 4 + 6 + 2 + 5 + 300 + 400 + 2 + 200 + 10 + 50 = 979.

² The ninth month.

³ 300 + 10 + 600 + 5 + 50 + 4 + 10 = 979.

⁴ Both expressions *Shaikh i hukamā*, and *Shaikh i hukkām*, contain the same letters; and in each case the sum of the numerical values of them is 979.

I met with a skilful surgeon in the town of Bessarmon, and in the course of a single week my wounds were healed. In the midst of that pain and sickness I made a vow, that if I should recover from that accident, I would perform the pilgrimage of Islâm. And to this moment I am still waiting to perform this vow, if God (He is exalted) will; and I hope that He will prosper me to attain this felicity before I pay the debt of death and a breach is made in the building of hope: "And this would not be too difficult for God."—"Some there are who have made good their promise, and others are waiting!" :—

"In this turquoise palace of ancient foundation,
The son of man is wonderfully apt to err:
Gratitude is not his habit,
His business is only neglect of worship,
Although he passes his whole life amid mercies,
He never knows their value until they be lost."

¹ Al Qur'ân XIV 23, XXXV, 18.

² Al Qur'ân XXXIII, 23.

138 Thence I went to Kānt u Golah. There after performing the ablution¹ I was again thrown on a bed of sickness. And Ḥusain Khān, whom God (praise to Him! He is exalted) will ere this have brought to the eternal paradise!, treated me with the kindness of a father or a brother beyond all mortal capacity; and when through the excessive cold the wound became ulcerous, he made me a plaster of pungent wood of the tamarisk-tree,² and made me eat a tamarisk sweet-meat. Thence I came to Badāūn, where another surgeon reopened the wound in my head, and I was near to death's door. One day between sleep and wakefulness:—

“It was not sleep, but it was unconscionsness.”

I saw, that a number of apparitors carried me up to the heavens. And in that place there was a book and a tribunal, and the writers were busy, and a number of constables were present (as in a king's court on earth), and staff in hand kept hurrying about. And one of the writers taking a leaf in his hand looked at it, and said: “This is not he.” At that moment hunger opened my eyes, and so I became conscious of my wandering, and a saying, which I used to hear from the mouths of people in the days of my youth came true: “Yea the world of possibilities is wide, but the power of the First Cause is predominant, and God is predominant over his works.”

During this year a dreadful fire broke out at Badāūn, and so many Hindūs and Musalmāns perished in the flames as to exceed all computation. Carts filled with the charred remains were driven down to the river, and none could tell who was a Moslem and who an infidel. Many to escape being burnt rushed to the ramparts of the fortress, and men and women on account of the heat of the flaming fire threw themselves down from the top of the wall. Others
139 escaped with burns and sears. Water on that fire acted like oil of naphtha. All this I witnessed with my own eyes, and heard the noise of the flames with my own ears. Some it warned, others it destroyed. Before this catastrophe a half-witted fellow came from the Doāb, and I took him into my house, and associated

¹ I. e., *ghusul-i ṣaḥḥat*, the first bathing after sickness.

² *Chob i qaz*.

with him. He said to me in private: "Flee out of this city." I said: "Why?" He said: "A terrible visitation is about to happen to it." But since he was a frequenter of taverns I did not credit him:—

"Why do you ask about Badāūn and its distracted state,

For it is a revelation of the verses about '*The punishment of fire*'?¹"

In the year nine hundred and eighty (980) the conquest of Gujrāt took place. The substance of the affair is as follows. Gujrāt had fallen into the greatest confusion, and had been broken up into different petty governments, so the Emperor issued an order for the assembling of the army and made a firm determination to reduce that country to subjection. On the 20th of Çafar² he set out from the Capital, and on the 15th of Rabi'lawwal³ the city of Ajmīr became the abode of the imperial cavalcade. After visiting the sacred mausoleum of that Summary of the line of Chishtīs, the saint Muḥmuddīn Chishtī (God sanctify his tomb, andt heir tombs!), the next day he proceeded to circumambulate the tomb of Mīr Sayyid Ḥusain Khang-sawār, and this verse was composed in his honour:—

"Thanks to God that a clear light hath shone into the heart
From Ḥusain bin 'Alī bin Ḥusain bin 'Alī."

And he went up to the top of that hill. Then he sent forward Mīr Muḥammad, Khān Kalān, with 10,000 horse as vanguard, and himself by consecutive days marching arrived on the 9th of the month Jamadī'lawwal⁴ at Nāgor. During the night of Wednesday the second of this month the birth of the prosperous Prince Dāniyāl took place at Ajmīr in the house of one Shaikh Dāniyāl by name, a holy sojourner. This good news was brought to the Emperor at two days' journey from Nāgor. The Emperor named 140

¹ Al Qur'ān II, 120, &c.

² The second month.

³ The third month.

⁴ The fifth month.

him Dāniyāl after the said Shaikh Dāniyāl. The following is the *mnemonymon* for the date :—

“ One said. *May he be a keeper of the Law of the Prophet.*”
And the word *Sharrat*² “The Law” will do just as well.

When the Emperor arrived in the neighbourhood of Mirt'ha, news came that a Rājput at Sarohi having come as an ambassador had struck Khāni Kalān with a *jamd'hara*,³ which is the name of a weapon well-known among the people of Hind. The weapon pierced his breast and came out at the shoulder-blade, but the wound was not mortal. The Rājput was sent to Hell. The wound in the course of ten or fifteen days healed over, and continued to do well. When the Emperor arrived at Sarohi a body of 150 Rājputs, as is their hereditary custom, some in idol-temples and some in the palace of the Rājah of Sarohi bound themselves to die, and went forth to fight, and were slain to a man. In this engagement Dost Muḥammad, son of the late Tātār Khān ^{governor} of Dihli, whom they call Tātārcheh, became a martyr. While the Emperor was at this place he appointed Rāi Singh of Bikāñir governor of Joudhpūr, in order that he might go by way of Gujrāt and prevent any harm being done to any one by Rānā Kikā ruler of Gogandah and Kumalmair.⁴ And Mān Singh, son of Rājah Bhagawan Dās he sent with a well appointed army in the direction of Idar in pursuit of the sons of Sher Khān Fūlādī,⁵ who had gone in that direction with all their family and relatives. In the beginning of the month Rajab⁶ the Emperor encamped outside Pattan, and gave that place as *jāgīr* to Sayyid Aḥmad Khān Bārha, brother of Sayyid Maḥmūd. Mān Singh having spoiled the remnant of the army of the Afghāns re-joined the Emperor bringing much booty.

When Sher Khān obtained news of the Emperor's approach, 141 he raised the siege of Aḥmadābād, in which he had for the

¹ 51 + 99 + 203 + 300 + 200 + 70 + 50 + 12 + 2 + 1 + 4 = 980.

² 300 + 200 + 10 + 70 + 400 = 980.

³ Sanskrit *jamd'hara* “death-bearer,” a large dagger with a basket hilt.

⁴ See p. 102.

⁵ See Briggs, *Ferishta* IV, pp. 156 and 165.

⁶ The seventh month.

space of six months been engaged along with I'timād Khān, the *ghulām* and absolute *vazīr* of Sultān Maḥmūd Gujrāṭī, and the army of the Afghāns became dispersed. On Sunday the 9th of the month Rajab of this year Muzaḥḥar, son of Sultān Maḥmūd Gujrāṭī, whom I'timād Khān had kept continually in confinement, so as to keep the power in his own hands, came and did homage to the Emperor. Eventually he was given into the charge of Shāh Maṇṣūr *vazīr* (whose history will be narrated, if God will), and he was granted a monthly allowance of 30 rupees. After some years he escaped and regained his government. But he was taken prisoner by the Rājah of Sūrat, who, when he had thus secured him, sent him towards Ghūnāgarh to Azam Khān. But on the road he laid violent hands on himself, and killed himself with a stroke of a razor. Subsequent events will be narrated in detail.

The next day I'timād Khān, and Shāh Abn Turāb, and Sayyid Ḥamīd Bokhārī, and Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk the Abyssinian, and Malik-ush-Sharq, and Wajih-ul-mulk, and Ulugh Khān the Abyssinian, and Jajhār Khān the Abyssinian, and the other Amīrs of Gujrāt, came one and all and were granted an interview with the Emperor. And I'timād Khān brought the key of the city of Aḥmadābād. The Emperor entrusted the Abyssinians to trusty officers of his own to be employed in guarding his harem. On Friday the 14th of Rajab he pitched his tents on the banks of the river of Aḥmadābād, and the Khutbah¹ was read. On the 20th of this month Sayyid Maḥmūd Khān Bārha and Shaikh Maḥmūd Bokhārī brought the Emperor's harem into the Imperial camp.

On Monday the 2nd of Sha'bān² the Emperor set out from Aḥmadābād in the direction of Cambay with the intention of repulsing Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mirzā and Muḥammad Ḥusain Mirzā, who had seized Bhroj and Barodah and Sūrat. Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk the Abyssinian, who was the leading man among the Amīrs of Gujrāt, seized this opportunity, and escaping from Aḥmadābād, fled to Aḥmad-nagar. And, since it was impossible to put any confidence in I'timād Khān, the Emperor committed him to the charge of Shahbāz

¹ See page 1.

² The eighth month.

142 Khān Kambo. On the 6th of Sha'bān the Emperor arrived at the port of Cambay. On the 14th of this month he arrived at the town of Barodah, and committing the government of Gujrāt entirely unfettered into the hands of Mirzā 'Azīz Kokah, he dismissed him to Aḥmadābād.¹

On the 17th of Sha'bān news arrived, that Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mirzā had put to death Rustam Khān Rūmī in the fortress of Bhroј, and that he was intending to pass within eight *cosses* of the Imperial camp. On this account the Emperor left the camp, in which was the young prince Salīm, under the guardianship of Khwājah Jahān, and Shujā'at Khān and several others of the Amīrs, and having sent Shahbāz Khān to fetch Sayyid Maḥmūd Bārha, and Shāh Qulī Khān Muḥarram and the rest of the Amīrs, who had been appointed to go towards Sūrat, he took with him Malik-ush-Sharq Gujrātī as his guide, and set off by forced marches with the intention of extirpating Mirzā Ibrāhīm Ḥusain. When the Emperor arrived at the banks of the river Mahindrī, night had come on. He crossed with 40 horse, when news was brought that Mirzā Ibrāhīm Ḥusain had alighted in the town of Sarnāl on the other side of the river. So the faithful companions of the Emperor began to arm themselves. During the night the Amīrs, who had been sent to Sūrat, were enabled to form a junction with the Emperor. Mān Singh was appointed to lead the vanguard, and with 100 men crossed the river. Then Mirzā Ibrāhīm Ḥusain, who had a force of 1,000 horse, when news came to him of the rapid approach of the Emperor, evacuated the town of Sarnāl by another road, and drew up his army in the plain with the intention of making a determined stand. Mān Singh advanced in one direction by the broken ground and shallows on the banks of the river Mahindrī, and the Emperor by another road. At last a collision between the opposite parties took place. Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mirzā charged against Bābā Khān Qāqshāl and his company of archers, and made them fall back for a considerable distance, and some were killed on both sides.

143 At this moment a son of Rājah Bhagvant Dās,² named

¹ Capital of Gujrāt.

² Son of Rājah Bihārī Mall.

Bhunpat¹ met with his death in that conflict. Then the enemy, taking courage, charged the imperial army, which was in position on uneven ground closely hemmed in on either side by a growth of prickly-pears.² Three of the enemy pressed forward in front of the rest. One of them attacked Rājah Bhagvānt Dās, who struck him with a hand-pike from behind the prickly-pears, and compelled him to retire wounded. The other two made a rush at the Emperor, who was in front of his men; but they could not stand his blows, and had to retire, and Maqbūl Khān a *ghulām* of Sarkh Badakhshī went in pursuit of those two fellows. Then the imperial army made an attack on all sides on Mirzā Ibrāhīm Ḥusain, which he was not able to withstand, and so took to flight. Many of his men were killed in this conflict, and innumerable were the slain. After he had gained the victory, as night was coming on, the Emperor ordered the pursuit to be abandoned. So Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mirzā with a few followers managed to reach Sarohī³ by way of Aḥmadnagar. Thence he came to Nāgor, where he again engaged the Amīrs, and being put to flight he passed by Dihli and returned once more to the district of Sambhal. The issue of the event will be recounted in its proper place.⁴ if God, He is exalted, will

On the 18th of Sha'bān⁵ the Emperor returned, and rejoined the imperial camp at Barodah. Thence he set out with the object of reducing the fort of Sūrat. This fort had been built by Khudāwand Khān, Wazīr of Gujrat, on the bank of the river⁶ to oppose the Portuguese in the year nine hundred and forty-seven (947). After the death of Chingīz Khān the Mirzās had seized it. And when 144 Gujrat was conquered, the Mirzās, having shut up their families and dependants in that place, and having entrusted the absolute government of it to one Hamzabān by name, chamberlain to

¹ Sanskrit *Bhuran-pati* 'world-protector.' His other sons were Rājah Mān Singh, Mādhū Singh, and Pratāb Singh.

² *Az-zagqūm*, a tree said in the Qur'ān (XXXVII, 60) to grow in the midst of Hell. It is the *euphorbia* of the ancients.

³ In Rājapūtāna.

⁴ See t p 149.

⁵ The eighth month.

⁶ Taqti is the name of the river.

the late Emperor, who had fled from the service of the present Emperor and gone over to the enemy, scattered themselves about the district and kept laying the foundation of rebellion. But, when news of the defeat of Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mirzā reached the garrison of that fort. Gulrūkh Bēgum, daughter of Kāmran Mirzā and wife of Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mirzā, took with her her son Muzaḥfar Ḥusain (who is now honoured with the dignity of being son-in-law of the Emperor), and made for the Dakkan. And Shāh Quli Khān Maḥram,¹ who together with Ḥadiq Muḥammad Khān and others had previously been appointed to besiege the fort, went a considerable distance in pursuit of the Mirzā's men, and then came back with part of his baggage and effects which they had succeeded in capturing. Now before the arrival of the Emperor in person, he had sent Rājah Todarmal to thoroughly reconnoitre the fort, and with instructions to submit to H. I. Majesty an accurate statement of the results of his investigation. He represented to the Emperor that the fort might be taken as easily as possible in a very short time. Accordingly on the 7th of the blessed month Ramzān² the Emperor encamped at one *cos* distant from the fort, and proceeded to surround it, as the halo surrounds the moon. He distributed³ the entrenchments [among his forces] and by perpetual assaults he reduced the garrison to extremities. In the course of two months he threw up immense mounds and high batteries, and the gunners and artillerymen kept up such a fire from under cover of them, that not an individual of the garrison of the fort dared to show his head. On the other side of the fort, which was contiguous to a tank of water he built a palace, and throwing up dams in its vicinity he cut off the water-supply from the besieged. Then the inhabitants of the fort sent out one Mūlānā Nizām-ud-dīn by name, a student of
 145 the art of rhetoric, to sue for quarter on the score of their weakness, defeat, and misery. Through the intervention of the Khān for a

¹ So called because the Emperor, from good-will towards him, admitted him into his female apartments (*haram*). See further in Bloehm., p. 306. sides. named

² The ninth month.

³ *Baksh kardah* seems to mean "having distributed," (like *taqsim na* but the author does not specify among whom. The reading of the Le lithographed edition is the same.

he was admitted to an audience, and the petition of the people of the fort attained the grade of acceptance, and he was dismissed to announce to them the joyful news. The Emperor appointed Qāsim 'Alī Khān Bakkāl, and Khwājah Doulat Nāzīr to go and re-assure Hamzabān and all the besieged, and to bring them to an audience. And a number of honest clerks were appointed to write down the names of the men, and to make an inventory of the property, so that everything was brought before¹ His Majesty.

Out of the whole number of the people, the Emperor, after a severe reprimand and admonition, gave over to the keeper of prisoners a few others as well as Hamzabān, who during the time of the siege had let fall some rude words, and impolite expressions. All the others he freely pardoned. This victory took place on the twenty-third of the month Shawwāl² in the year nine hundred and eighty (980). And Ashraf Khān Mīr Munshī composed this *qit'ah* :—

“The country-subduer Akbar Ghāzī,³ without dispute
There is no key of the forts of the world like his sword.
He has taken by assault the fort of Sūrat,
The victory was gained only by his auspicious arm.
The date of the victory is *He has taken a wonderful fort*,⁴
But to the fortune of the Shāh of the world such things are not
wonderful.”

The next day the Emperor went to inspect the fort, and gave orders that its breaches and ruins should be repaired and rebuilt. During this inspection he came across some large cannon, and immense pieces of ordnance. They had been brought by sea by Sulaimān Sultān the Emperor of Turkey, when he came with a large army to take possession of the ports of Gujrat; but afterwards

¹ Sansunt of some adverse circumstances that army retired, and
Singh, Mi cannon from that time were left behind on the river 146
² *Az-z*
of Hell.

³ In I this expression compare Text, p. 275, l. 6, and 292, l. 4 *infra*.

⁴ Text, tenth month.

⁵ Th_{āzī} means one who fights against infidels, not *victorious*.

⁶ Ta + 3 + 2 + 100 + 30 + 70 + 5 + 20 + 200 + 80 + 400 = 980.

prosperous banner of the Emperor, and they dispersed the enemy like flakes of scattered clouds, and the soldiers pursued in quest of plunder. But Khān i A'zam¹ with a few men did not move from his post, when suddenly like an unexpected calamity Shēr Khān Fīlādī (who was a great opium-eater, and had been delayed for a whole watch at the latrines through constipation, which like a hand-grip, is a necessary evil with opium-eaters) arrived with 2,000 or 3,000 horsemen, more or less, on the empty field after both sides had done fighting, and attacked Shaikh Muḥammad Bokhārī, who was still engaged with a few of the enemy, and confusion returned and Shaikh Muḥammad became the rose of the garden of victory² :—

“He made a pen of his sword from the point to the hilt,
It wrote in blood the dictum : *He was not.*”

Meanwhile Khān i A'zam moved from his place, and many troops came up from all sides, so that Shēr Khān having contrived to rejoin his friends took to flight. When they asked him, “Why did you kill the son of your superior?” he replied, “We heard that of the number of the leaders of the Moghuls Shāh Budāgh Khān and one other through excessive valour would not leave the battle-field, under the impression that it was they, we attacked Shaikh Muḥammad; but certainly if we had known who it was, we should never have taken a step towards killing him.” Then Muḥammad Ḥusain Mirzā 149 went towards the Dakkan, and Shēr Khān took refuge in the fortress of Jūnāgarh, of which place Amīr Khān Ghori was governor. This victory took place on the 18th of the blessed month of Rāmzan in the year nine hundred and eighty (980). A'zam Khan leaving the fort of Patan in the old manner in charge of Ahmad Khān Bīrhah went to Sūrāt, and paid his homage to the Emperor. And Qutb-ud-dīn, and the other Amīrs, having managed to hunt out of the jungles and forts Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk the Abyssinian (who had escaped from those to whom he had been given in charge as prisoner, and fled to Ahmad-ābād and joined the enemy, and after

¹ Another name for A'zam Khān.

² We read.

³ The ninth month.

⁴ Another reading is *Ahmad-nagar*. Comp. p. 164, l. 11 Text.

his flight had laid the foundation of rebellion, and seized several places), and having left stations and patrols in that district, at the time that the imperial camp came from Sūrat to Maḥmūdābād joined the Court.

Towards the end of the month Zi-qa'dah¹ of the aforementioned year Aḥmadābād became the place of the imperial residence. The Emperor stayed in that place ten days, and having conferred the government of Aḥmadābād on A'zam Khān, and having given the other cities to the other Amirs of the Atgah-clan,² and having presented Muzaffar Khān with two and a half *cosces* as *jāgīr*, and having given away Sārangpūr, and Ujjain, and the whole of the district of Mālwa, on the day of the Festival of Qorbān he marched out from Aḥmadābād, and in the month Muḥarram³ of the year nine hundred and eighty-one (981), moving from station to station, arrived at Ajmīr. At this place he received a letter from Sa'īd Khān containing news of the capture of Mirzā Ibrāhīm Ḥusain, and of his departure from a world full of trouble and degradation. And on the 2nd of Qaṣar⁴ in this year the metropolis was once more glorified and adorned by the return of His Imperial Majesty.

The following is a compendium of the adventures of Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mirzā. He went first from Gujrat to Mirat'h with the intention of stirring up rebellion and revolt in that kingdom. He plundered a caravan which was going to Āgrah, and came to 150 Nāgōr, in which place Farrukh Khān, son of Khān-i Kalān, shut himself up. The Mirzā plundered some of the houses in the suburbs, and having stayed there one day went off to Narnoul. When he had arrived within 20 *cosces* of Narnoul it happened that Rāi Rām and Rāi Singh, who had been entrusted with guarding the road to Gujrat, taking about 1,000 horsemen with them set off by forced marches from Jodhpūr to Nāgōr. Then Farrukh Khān set off in their company in pursuit of the Mirzā, and alighted at K'hatonli. The Mirzā fled without leaving any mark or trace, and so got off. When the Musalmāns in the camp were keeping the fast, they halted

¹ The eleventh month.

² See above p. 49, note 4.

³ The first month.

⁴ The second month.

by the side of a great tank in that neighbourhood with the intention of breaking fast, then the Mirzā, having gone some distance and returned, on the second night of the blessed month of Ramzān¹ in the year nine hundred and eighty (900) taking them quite unawares made a night-attack on them, and attacking them suddenly on both flanks rained a shower of arrows upon them. They on their side seized their shields and did not waver, but fought manfully. And he, since he could not prevail, and his men did not amount to 700, found himself in difficulties, and retreated. In that dark night many of his soldiers becoming scattered were taken prisoners in the villages and wildernesses, and were put to death on the spot where they were taken. Of this number a 109 men fell into the hands of Farrukh Khān, and became food for the sword. And others were wounded and after a hundred troubles managed to reach the Mirzā. But through the disgracefulness of their wicked enterprise their affairs nowhere prospered. So the Mirzā with 300 men, ravaging the country as he went, crossed the rivers Ganges and Jumna, and came to the *pargana* of A'zampūr, which had formerly been his *jāgīr*. He thought that, since Sambhal was in its rear, a fortress like Mount Kumāūn, and in front a moat like the Ganges, if he were to take refuge there and settle himself in that place, many men
151 would return to him. But this idea of his was not realized, and the imperial Amīrs hemmed him in on every side, and the meaning of the [Arabic saying] "Expectancy hinders advance"² became manifest.

Husain Khān³ Mahdī Qāsim Khānī at that time, before the publication of the news concerning Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrzā and his going towards Dihlī, went to Kānt-u-Golah, which was his *jāgīr*, with the intention of uelling the insurgents of Badāūn and Patyālī. Meanwhile Makhdūm-ul-mulk Mūlānā 'Abd-ullāh Sultānpūrī, and Rājah Bahār Mal, who were *wakīl* and absolute *wazīr*, wrote a letter to him from Fathpūr informing him; that Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrzā

¹ The ninth month.

² Such seems to me to be the meaning of *At-talabu raddu-l-tariq*; but I am not sure.

³ He was sister's son and also son-in-law to Mahdī Qāsim Khān. (Blochm., p. 372). For this reason he is called *Mahdī-Qāsim-Khānī*.

having suffered defeat on two occasions had arrived in the vicinity of Dihli, and that, since the Emperor was absent from the Capital, his lordship would do well to hasten thither as quickly as possible. In accordance with this request he proceeded in that direction, but when he had arrived on his march at the village of Oudh, in the *pargana* of Jalēsah,¹ news came in that Rājah Awēsar, who had continually infested the roads since the accession of the Emperor, and had kept up rebellion in the vicinity of Āgrah, had now become a regular brigand. Moreover that he had already had many severe encounters, and obstinately fought skirmishes with some of the renowned Amīrs, and had slain many excellent men, and was now hidden in the jungle of the village of Nonrāhī in the *pargana* of Jalēsah. At midday on the 15th of the blessed month of Ramzān² in the aforesaid year, when the men were off their guard and marching in loose order, and most of them were fasting, suddenly the rattle of musketry and arrows burst on them, and they found themselves engaged in a hot skirmish. The Rājah with the help of the villagers³ had erected crows'-nests in the trees, and from that vantage-ground many useful men became marks⁴ for arrows and musket balls, and some were martyred, and others were wounded. At the very beginning of the battle-moil a musket-ball struck Hūsain Khān¹⁵² below the knee, glanced off and struck his saddle and spent itself on the head of his horse. He became faint and nearly fell from his saddle, but with great presence of mind he grasped the pommel of his saddle and kept his seat. I threw water on his face. Those who were around him and in front thought that it was perhaps weakness caused by fasting, but I seized his bridle wishing to draw him under the shelter of a tree, where he might be safe from the shower of arrows. When there he opened his eyes and contrary to his usual custom shot a glance of anger at me, and querulously made signs as much as to say, "What are you holding my reins for? You had better go down into the battle." So they left him in that state

¹ Elliot and Blochmann *Jalesar*.

² The ninth month.

³ Comp. p. 10, note 2.

⁴ The word used here seems to be the Hindī *bishai* = *bikhai*, Sanskr. *vishaya*, object.

and went down and joined in the fray. Such confusion then raged, and so many men were killed on both sides, that imagination were too weak to number them. Eventually, in accordance with [the promise] "Al-Islām shall conquer, and not be conquered," towards evening the breeze of victory blew to the side of the small handful of religious warriors, and the infidels company by company and crowd by crowd took to flight, but not before our soldiers were so tired that they could scarcely wield a sword or shoot an arrow. In that thick forest they became so commingled, that friend could not be distinguished from foe, and yet through weakness they could not make an end of one another. Some of the servants of God showed such fortitude as to merit the excellence both of waging a holy war, and also of maintaining a strict fast. But I on the contrary was so weak, that I took a single draught of water to moisten my throat, for want of which some gave up the ghost, and several excellent friends of mine became martyrs:—

"Never does Heaven regard my affair,
Nor make me happy in granting me a single wish.
It moistens not my lip with a drop of water,
Except it rain my eye-blood on my bosom."

After this victory Ḥusain Khān returned by forced marches to Kānt-u-Golah, and strengthened those places. At the same time Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mirzā, arrived in the neighbourhood of the *pargana* 153 of Lak'hnou, which is fifteen *cosses* from Sambhal.¹

In spite of that wound [Ḥusain Khān] riding in a litter advanced to Bāns Barēli in order to force the Mirzā into action, and from that place he reached Sambhal in one day by a forced march. When the Mirzā became assured of this bold stroke of his, he did not see the advantage of fighting, but retreated by way of Amrohah, in the neighbourhood of Lak'hnou, and put a distance of seven *cosses* between us and him. But, if he had attacked Ḥusain Khān in his wounded state, God knows what would have been the issue! It was one of the mistaken pieces of policy on the part of the Mirzā, that he did not attack Ḥusain Khān when he was in this weak state.

¹ Sambhal was the paternal estate of Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mirzā. Elliot V, 505.

Mu'in-ud-dīn Khān Farankhūdī, governor of Sambhal, with a considerable force and various other Amīrs, *jāgīr*-holders of the neighbourhood, who had taken refuge in the fortress, when they heard at midnight the roll of the drums of Husain Khān, thought that the Mīrzā was upon them, and were quite overcome with fear. But, when from the extremity of the fort the cry arose that it was Husain Khān coming to their assistance, they came out joyfully to meet him. The next day they came to the abode of Shaikh Fathullāh Tarū,¹ who was one of the renowned deputies of Shaikh-ul-Islām Fathpūrī, and sat in council and considered it advisable that all of them together with Tolak Khān Qūchīn² and Bēg Nūrīn Khān and Raḥmān Qulī Khān and Kākar 'Alī Khān and the other Amīrs of the *jāgīr* of the neighbourhood of Dihlī, who were come to repulse the Mīrzā, should wait for us in the *panyana* of Āhār on the bank of the river Ganges, and that when a junction should have been effected, we should carry out whatever plans they might fix upon. Husain Khān exclaimed "Good God! The Mīrzā came to this neighbourhood with a small party of horse, while you with an army four (cf. p. 368, 23) times as large as his were at the 154 fortress of Sambhal; and you twenty or thirty Amīrs, all old soldiers too, with a large force are so dismayed that you would shut yourselves up in the fortress of Āhār, which is a regular rat-hole. This will give occasion to the Mīrzā to become bold and to ravage the imperial territories. Now there are two courses open to us, one of which we must follow. Either you must cross the Ganges, and under cover of that old fortress must intercept the Mīrzā, and prevent his getting over the Ganges. I will follow up in his rear, and we shall see what will happen. Or I will hasten and cross the Ganges and head the Mīrzā, while you pursue him. This is our duty as loyal subjects." But they could not agree upon any course until Husain Khān, driven by necessity, went off in haste with the horsemen he had to the Amīrs at Āhār, and inveighed loudly against their shutting themselves up in that fortress. He brought them out, and repeated the same counsel to them. "The enemy," he said, "is enclosed in the heart of the country, and is just like a

¹ Another reading is *Aighān Tarbanī*, and Elliot (*Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*) *Tarbatī*.

² See p. 54, note 2.

here appearing in the midst of a camp, if you move by ordinance with [the
 be able to make a fine *coup* and take him alive, and [conquered.] towards
 victory will be yours." They replied: "In accordance with the small handful
 written instructions of Makhdūm-ul-mulk and Rājā, by company and
 we have driven the Mirzā out of the neighbourhood of soldiers were so
 compelled him to make for Sambhal. Now Mirzā has not an arrow. In
 Khān, commandant of that district, and the *jāgīr*-holder friend could not
 neighbourhood are responsible for the matter. But as they could not
 ordered to defend Dihli, and not to wage a war againsts of God showed
 course in which various dangers are to be dreaded.¹ Meanwhile
 intelligence arrived that the Mirzā had plundered Amroha, and
 having crossed the Ganges at the ford of Choubālah was marching
 rapidly on Lāhōr. Then Husain Khān, being convinced of lack of
 155 loyalty on the part of the Amīrs, hastily separated himself from
 them, and went by forced marches to Gadha Muktesar in order
 to capture the Mirzā :—

"Take up thine abode with the favourites of fortune,
 Flee, swift as an arrow, from the unfortunate."

The only ones of the imperial Amīrs who supported him were Turk
 Subhān Quli and Farrukh Diwānah: but while he was at this place
 the Amīrs of Āhār wrote him a letter, saying: "Do not be in a
 hurry, for we will join you. Eleven are better than nine." And
 they came more by compulsion than of free will, and the verse² of
 the glorious word: "Thou lookest on them as united, but their hearts
 are divided" exactly fits the case of those people. The Mirzā, like
 the rook on a cleared chess-board, came into the heart of the country,
 plundering and ravaging the towns in his way. When he arrived
 at the village of Pāyal, the Mirzā's men committed such atrocities
 on the Musalmān people and their families as cannot well be
 scribed. For instance, twelve virgins in that village were ill-treat-
 ed to such a degree that they died. Other towns were treated the same by the Mirzā,
 his weak state.

¹ They meant, doubtless, that they were not sure how far
 pleasing the Emperor, if they proceeded to extremities with the
 wife Gulrūkh Bēgum was a daughter of Kāmran Mirzā and
 Emperor's first cousin. But see the result, p. 161 Text.

² Al Qur'ān LIX, 14.

Mu'īn-ud-dīn K Husain Khān advanced gradually in the track of considerable force the Amīrs in his rear, till they came to Sarānd. At Sarānd, who turned refractory and took the opportunity of all midnight the and. But Husain Khān not being content [to remain] Mirzā was up that he had, which did not number 100 men, left when from [the] marches, together with the two [Amīrs mentioned] Husain Khān arrived at Lūdiyānah. There intelligence arrived that to meet him, reaching the environs of Lāhōr, the garrison had shut Fath^{ullah} Tar^{ist} him, and that the Mirzā had passed on thence and gone to Sher Gadhā and Jahmī.

of food, and benefited by the gracious words which he heard. He remained there that night. The monastery of the Shaikh provided entertainment for all the party, and his private fields furnished grass and corn for the horses. In the morning he left the place.

Three days after this I came from Lāhōr to Sher Gadh, and attended his reverence for four days, seeing and hearing such things as had never entered my imagination, and the mystery of the saying, "When they desire the remembrance of God &c." became manifest. And I extemporized some verses, which I presented, and they were accepted. The verses are as follows :—

- 157 "O! the stock of thine origin is free from water and clay,
Thy pure spirit like the Prophet is the mercy of the worlds.
Thy mighty name is David, through the impression of it,
Like Solomon, spirits and men come under thy signet.
"*There is the face of God,*"¹ I could not understand for years,
I saw thy face, and the pupil of the eye of truth became clear."

I requested to be allowed to renounce the work and burden of worldly affairs, and to choose for myself the office of sweeping the monastery. But he would not permit it, and said that I ought now to go to Hindūstān. So I took leave in such a desolate state of mind and distraction of heart, as may no other ever experience, and prepared to depart. At the moment of departure lamentation involuntarily burst forth from my sorrowing soul, and when this came to the ears of his reverence, although no one is properly allowed to remain in that monastery more than three days, he kept me there a fourth, and told me things, the sweetness of which still remains in my heart :—

"I go homeward from this door,
But my heart is without choice :
I lament so much that you would think
I was going to a foreign country."

And a few of my own adventures I propose (if God will) to recount in the appendix to this book.

¹ Al Qur'ān II, 109. "The East and the West is God's: therefore, whichever way we turn, *there is the face of God*: Truly God is Omnipresent, Omniscient."

class of Multān peasants, assembled and made a night attack on him, 159 and poured a shower of arrows upon him. The Mirzā with a party of men, some of them wounded, and some of them disabled and in a miserable plight, did what he could to beat off their assailants. But, in accordance with the proverb¹ :—

“ A shout is enough for a conquered army,”

the Jhils came off victorious. Suddenly during the encounter an arrow, by the decree of God, struck the Mirzā on the back of his head and came out at his throat. Then since all was over with him he changed his dress, and his men left him and fled scattered in all directions. But wherever they went, they became marks for the arrow of fate and went to retribution. One or two old servants of the Mirzā dressed him in the garments of a Kalandar² and endeavoured to get him into some place of safety. In his extreme weakness they brought him for refuge to spend the night in the abode of a hermit Dervish, Shaikh Zakariyā by name, who openly applied a mollifying ointment to the wound of the Mirzā, but secretly sent information of his whereabouts to Sa'id Khān at Multān :—

“ Wherever an ascetic dwells,
There treachery is found.”

Sa'id Khān sent a *ghulām*, Doulat Khān by name, to bring in the Mirzā a prisoner, and wrote a dispatch and sent it to the Court at the time that the Emperor was coming to Aḥmīr on his return from Gujrāt. When Ḥusain Khān heard of the capture of the Mirzā, he hastened to Multān, and saw Sa'id Khān. Ḥusain Khān made some difficulty about seeing the Mirzā and said : “ If when I see him I should *salām* to him, it will be inconsistent with my loyalty to the Court; and if I do not, it will be uncourteous, and the Mirzā will say to himself, ‘ This *Qulqachī*,³ when he received quarter at the siege of Satwās, thought good to make *salāms* without number; now

¹ Roebuck I, p. 294.

² A wandering Musalmān ascetic.

³ This word occurs again p, 191, l. 20 Text.

over to Birbar. Husain Quli Khān, with the other Amirs of the Panjāb such as Mirzā Yusuf Khān, and Ja'fir Khān son of Qazāq Khān, and Tattū Masnadi 'Āli &c., first took by assault Dahmīrī, and Gwālyār, and Kotlah an exceedingly lofty fortress, and reduced that district. Then, leaving there a force to occupy the dis- 162 trict, he passed over a very difficult pass with elephants, horses, camels, and his whole suite, and large cannon, and immense mortars, and laid siege to the fortress of Kāngrah. I myself in the year nine hundred and ninety-eight, when I went to Nagarkōt, had occasion to cross that pass, and it is scarcely an hyperbole to say that the foot of the ant in those rugged places would slip through fear. Then Bidhī Chand, son of Jai Chand, thinking that his father had died in prison, shut himself up in the fort. The temple of Nagarkōt, which is outside the city, was taken at the very outset. It is a place whither *lacs*¹ and *lacs* of men, or rather *krors*² and *krors* of men, assemble at fixed periods, and bring ass-loads and ass-loads of gold and silver coins, and stuffs and merchandisc and other precious things, store-fuls without number, as offerings. On this occasion many mountaineers became food for the flashing sword. And that golden umbrella, which was erected on the top of the cupola of the temple, they riddled with arrows, many of which may be seen hanging there to this day. And black cows,³ to the number of 200, to which they pay boundless respect, and actually worship, and present to the temple, which they look upon as an asylum, and let loose there, were killed by the Musulmāns. And, while the arrows and bullets were continually falling like drops of rain, through their zeal and excessive hatred of idolatry they filled their shoes full of blood, and threw it on the doors and walls of the temple. So many Brahmins, sojourners in the temple, were killed, that both friends and strangers heap a thousand thousands of curses on the head of Birbar, who reckoned himself a saint among the Hindūs (curse on them!). So the outer city was taken. Then they threw up mounds and batteries and opened a fire of great guns on the palace of Bidhī

¹ *Lac* = 100,000.

² *Kror* = 10,000,000.

³ Called *Yaks*.

171 In this year the Emperor recalled Muzaffar Khān, who had been appointed governor of Sārangpūr, and appointed him prime minister, and gave him in addition to his other titles that of Jumlat-ul-mulk. And the Emperor ordered the debts of Shaikh Muḥammad of Bokhāra, who was killed in the battle of Patan, and of Saif Khān, who fell in the last battle of Aḥmadābād, to be paid out of the public treasury. They amounted to a *lac* of rupees.

And in this year the Emperor presented a sword to Rājah Todarmal, when he brought with him a clear balance-sheet of the accounts of Gujrat. Then he sent him in conjunction with Lashkar Khān *Bakhshī* (whom most of the people of Hind call Shēr Khān) to attempt the conquest of Bengāl in the service of Mun'im Khān, the Khān Khānān. To Shahr-ullāh Kambūi of Lāhōr he gave the title of Shahbāz Khān, and appointed him *Mīr-bakhshī*, and this rhyme was sealed with his name :—

“By the blessing of the favours of the Lord of Conjunction
I have reached *Shahbāz Khān*-hood from servitude.”

At this time Mīr Muḥassan Razwī returned from an embassy to the Dak'hin, and brought suitable presents from the rulers of that country. On the 16th of Shavvāl of this year the Emperor determined on a pilgrimage to Ajmīr intending to pray for assistance in the conquest of Bengāl. At the village of Dāir, which is four *cosses* from Fathpūr, his reverence the refuge of direction, and possessor of saintship, Khwājah 'Abd-ush-shahīd,¹ grandson of Khwājah Aḥrār (may God sanctify his tomb!), made intercession for the release of Mīrzā Sharaf-ud-dīn Ḥusain, but was refused. Although the Emperor did not neglect any marks of due honour and respect, and publicly even read the *Fatīḥah*,² still his reverence felt much grief at the refusal, and went away much saddened. At 7 *cosses* from Ajmīr the Emperor
172 alighted, and on the 12th of Zī-qa'dah³ he was honoured with the privilege of paying a visit to the blessed burial-place.

¹ See Vol. iii, p. 40 Text.

² Al Qur'ān I. See Sale *in loco*.

³ The eleventh month.

On the 17th of this month took place the entrance of the earth-illuminating sun, which is the greatest heavenly body and the light-giver of the world, into the constellation of Aries¹ :—

“ The body of the Sun, when it comes from the Fish to the Ram, The white horse of day makes the black horse of night white of one foot.”

And because of the dignity of this day, which he observed every year and passed in joy and gladness, he held a high feast in the ancient fashion, and distributed the sum of a *lac* of rupees to every class of person present at the assembly. On the 23rd of the month Zi-qa'dah the Emperor marched out of Ajmīr (which in grandeur may vie with Constantinople itself), and arriving at his capital he set on foot preparations for an expedition to Bengāl, and gave orders for the building of boats. Of that number one boat was lion-prowed, and another crocodile-prowed. And verily only sea-going vessels have such beam and draught.

Towards the end of the month Zi-ḥajjah of this year the Author by reason of destiny, which is a chain round the foot of decision, having parted with Ḥusain Khān, and come from Badāūn to Āgrah, was introduced at Court by Jamāl Khān Qurchī, and the late Galen-like physician 'Ayn-ul-mulk.² And since in those days the chattels of learning had considerable currency, I was dignified with the honour of a conversation the moment I came, and was enrolled in the number of the attendants at his assemblies. The Emperor made me dispute with sages, who boast of their depth of science, and who admit no uninitiated into their presence, and was himself the arbiter. By the grace of God, and the strength of my natural talent, and the sharpness of my intellect, and the courage, which is inherent in youth, I overcame most of them. When at the time of presentation they described me as follows: “ This worthy of Badāūn has 173 broken the head of Ḥājī Ibrāhīm Sirhindī,” the Emperor desired

¹ The vernal equinox, the *nourōzi jalālī*, the beginning of the 19th year of the *Ikāhī*, or era of Akbar.

² See Vol. iii; p. 164 Text.

that I should be presented at once, and his commands were issued to that effect. Shaikh Abd-un-Nabī, the *Chief Çadr*,¹ was very much offended with me because I had not made use of him to obtain my introduction. He used to take the opposite side to myself in disputation, but the proverb came true "He that is bitten by a snake takes opium," so that enmity by degrees turned into friendship.

About this time Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl, son and heir of Shaikh Mubārak of Nāgōr, the star of whose knowledge and understanding was brilliant, came to Court, and received many marks of distinction.

In this year a lofty college and high and spacious palaces were built on the road to Ajmīr. And the cause of this was as follows: His Majesty's extreme devotion induced him every year to go on a pilgrimage to that city, and so he ordered a palace to be built at every stage between Āgrah and that place, and a pillar to be erected and a well sunk at every *cross*. Ever so many hundreds of thousands of stags' horns, which the Emperor had killed during the course of his life were placed on these pillars as a memorial to the world. And *Mīl-Jāh*² "Mile-horn" gives the date. Would that instead of these he had ordered gardens and caravansarais to be made!

In this year at the instigation of Shahbāz Khān Kambū the custom of branding the government horses came into practice. And with one stroke of the pen he commanded the appointment of tax-gatherers throughout the whole empire, and that lands should be held directly from the Crown, as shall be narrated, if God (He is exalted!) will.

In the latter part of the month Çafar of the year nine hundred and eighty-two (982) the Emperor embarked on board the crocodile-proofed vessel with the intention of conquering Bengāl. The reason for this journey was as follows. When Sulaimān Afghān Kararānt died, who from the time of Islīm Shāh had held the district of Bengāl and become quite independent, his son Bāyazid succeeded him for a time, but on account of his bad conduct after a short

¹ He held the office from 971 to 986.

² $10 + 10 + 20 + 300 + 1 + 600 = 981$.

³ See Blochmann *Am* 55, p. 139.

⁴ It was a full month.

space of time he was murdered by the contrivance of his brother-in-law 174 Hansū and other Amīrs. Then Dāūd the younger son of Sulaimān, who was his heir, took upon himself the title of king, and omitted the custom observed by Sulaimān of sending messages to inform the Emperor of his accession to power, and to assure him of his loyalty. News of the death of Sulaimān reached the Emperor at the fortress of Sūrat, and he immediately issued a *farmān* to the Khān Khānān, Mur'im Khān, who was at that time at Jounpūr, to chastise Dāūd and conquer the kingdom of Bihār. The Khān Khānān levied a large army, and having seized two *lacs* of rupees and other goods and precious things as tribute settled the matter peaceably, and returned. Dāūd, who was then at Hājipūr, at the instigation of Katlū Khān, governor of Jagannāth, by cunning management in exciting his cupidity for an elephant, got his Amīr-ul-Umarā Lodī into his power and imprisoned him. He had been governor of Orissa, but had since taken a hostile course and had assumed independent and absolute authority in the Fortress of Rohtās. They tell the story that one day Dāūd went out hunting with a small escort, and that Lodī with 10000 horsemen of Sulaimān's formed the design of putting down Dāūd. But Dāūd went back to the city, assembled his forces, and scattered Lodī's followers. By his crafty management he got Lodī into his power, and appropriated all that he possessed. Lodī, knowing his death to be certain, did not withhold his advice from Dāūd. He said: "Although I know that you will be very sorry after my death, and that you will derive no benefit from it, still I give you one piece of advice, which if you act upon, you will prove victorious. And that is, that you place no reliance upon that 175 peace which I effected not long ago by means of two *lacs* of rupees. The Moghuls will never let you alone for this trifling sum. Be beforehand with them, and make war on them immediately, for there is nothing like the first blow." Dāūd thought that he had an evil design in what he said, and proud of the hollow peace which he had made with the Khān Khānān, but which was no better than a mirage, he put the devoted Lodī to death. Thus he struck his own foot with the axe, and at the same time uprooted the plant of his prosperity with the spade of calamity. When the Khān Khānān

heard this news, his loaf fell into the butter¹ and he turned towards Patnah and Ḥāḥīpūr. Then Dāūd began to recognize the worth of Lodi, and repented of having put him to death; but what was the good of it!

“The horse of your fortune was under your thigh,
If you did not make haste, what could one do!
The dice of life were to your wishes,
But you played badly, what could one do!”

Having repaired the wreck and ruin of the fortress of Patnah, without even drawing his sword, or a single arrow being fitted to the bow, he shut himself up in the fortress. But on account of his drunkenness and injustice his people deserted from him, until the Emperor at the aforementioned date appointed Mirzā Yūsuf Khān to the command of the army and sent him forward by land, and left Shahāb-ud-dīn Aḥmad Khān in charge of Āgrah, and himself set off by river. The following *rubāʿī* was composed on the occasion:—

The justice-distributing and religion-protecting Emperor
The world-conquering Jamshīd Muḥammad Akbar,
Sat on the back of the sea; like Sikandar²
Both sea and land became subject to him.

The Emperor took his eldest son with him. The face of the water **176** was hidden by the number of boats and vessels. And through the congratulations of the *Khārwāhā*, who are a sort of sailors used to the river, and through their shouts and cries in the language peculiar to them, the birds of the air and the fish of the water were well nigh made to dance. And such a spectacle presented itself as no words can possibly describe. Every day the Emperor used to disembark and occupy himself in hunting, and at night he would cast anchor, and would spend it in searching into science and poetry, and in recitals and repetitions.

¹ Roebuck's Proverbs, p. 54. The proverb means “He was in luck.”

² Alexander the Great is said to have sailed down to the ocean, and to have launched a boat on it—referring to his going down the Hydaspes. See Arrian VI, 3 and Thirlwall's Hist. Vol. VII, p. 34, Chap. LIV near the beginning.

On the 23rd of the month Āṣar mentioned above the Emperor encamped at Payāg, which is commonly called Hāhābās, where the waters of the Ganges and Jumna unite. The infidels consider this a holy place, and with a desire to obtain the rewards which are promised in their creed, of which transmigration is one of the most prominent features, they submit themselves to all kinds of tortures. Some place their brainless heads under saws, others split their deceitful tongues in two, others enter Hell by casting themselves down into the deep river from the top of a high tree :—

“Although he committed the crime for the sake of reward,
He went to Hell all the same by that road of water.”

He laid the foundations of a great building, and left the name of that city *Hāhābād*. From Banīras he sent Shēr Bēg Tawāchī in a very swift vessel to the Khān Khānān. And on the second of the month Rabi-us-sānī¹ from a place called Yahyāpūr, one of the environs of Jounpūr, which is the meeting-place of the waters of the Ganges and the Gowadī,² he had the boats of the Prince, with the ladies of the harem, and the judges and justices, towed against the stream of the Gowadī and sent to Jounpūr. He himself went up the river two or three days' journey, and then returning in accordance with a request of the Khān Khānān in the greatest haste towards the Ganges, he gave rein to his river-drinking crocodiles. At this halting-place news arrived of the death of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Bakkar, and of Muḥib 'Alī Khān's having taken possession of that kingdom. On the 6th of the aforesaid month the army arrived by land at the environs of the city of Ghāzīpūr, and at this halting-place 'Itimād Khān, *Khwājah Sarāi*, came to the Emperor from the Khān 177 Khānān and related at length the state of the army of the Khān Khānān, and pressed him to make as much haste as possible. On the seventh of this month Sayyid Mirak Isphānī a man learned in charms, who after the defeat of Khān Zamān³ had lived at Jounpūr, at the instigation of Naqīb Khān studied a great book of

¹ The fourth month.

² Often called *Gumti*; but the name is properly *Gumati*, i. e., “having-cows.”

³ See p. 99.

sortilege, and when he had selected the letters and arranged and compounded them, the following verse came out as the omen :—

“ With quickness Akbar through royal fortune
Will take the kingdom out of the hand of Dāūd.”

And it so happened that it turned out just in that way. And on his return, when he was encamped at Jounpūr, the afore-mentioned Sayyid hastened to do homage to the Emperor, and offered him another omen. And this verse also came true :—

“ The news of the victory suddenly comes,
The head of Dāūd comes to the Court.”

The compiler of this epitome was at that time a friend of his, and I asked leave of him to study that lore, and he consented. But he said that this lore was a special privilege of the Sayyids, and that there was a certain condition attached to the matter, which was fundamental, and the observance of which was indispensable. At last I found out that this indispensable condition was the embracing of the doctrines of the foolish Shī'ah-s! This sort of omen like all omens is a forgery and an invention, for any one who has a little thinking power can invent the like of it, as came to my own experience and was seen by me. And in those days, without the favour of the instruction of the Sayyid, I practised it myself. The wiser Jāmī tells us :—

“ The augur of the time, drunk and a stranger,
Sets forth his books in this way :
Not fearing the things of the next world,
And not asking about the things of salvation,
Having written some letters, by their side
And below them written some numbers,
Having conceived in himself an empty imagination
Entirely devoid of the ornament of wisdom,
A trouble to man, and a plague to men of science,
What is their *jafar*,¹ O *Ja'fari* Çādiq, ?

¹ *Jafar* means “charm,” “sortilege.” *Ja'fari Çādiq* is one of the Imāms, see p. 36, note 2. There is here a play on the two words of similar sound.

Ja'fari Qādiq is angry with you,
 To the Qādiq-s there is a reproach from the liars.
 It is better that the people of dignity and pomp,
 Who have not their equals in the world,
 Although [these angurs] are for wisdom the talk of the world,
 Should not buy this tinsel of those asses,
 Those jewels which the excellent have strung,
 Those sciences which the learned have sung.
 In the ear of their mind are but wind,
 Their nature is pleased by avoiding such.
 They call them all old and shrivelled [and say],
 How in a dried up thing can there be any *fresh* taste?
 I know not what you mean by this '*fresh*'—
 Who calls the taste of new wine '*fresh*'?
 'The pretender who boasts of '*freshness*'
 Let him spin his warp and woof '*afresh*.'
 The old he has lost, and has not got the new,
 The old he has dropped, and has not reaped the new."

On the 20th of the month Rabi'-us-sāni¹ the Emperor encamped at Jonsā, and there news arrived from the Khān Khānān, that 'Isā Khān Niyāzi, one of the great Amīrs of the Afghāns, who is generally known as Shujā'at, had made a sortie from the Fortress of Patnah with war-elephants and a considerable force, and had joined battle, and been slain by the hand of a *ghulām* of Lashkar Khān's. And at this time Muḥammad Ma'cūm, son of Hāshim Khān the brother of Shahāb-ud-dīn Almad Khān (who was himself in the army of the Khān Khānān, and his son with the Emperor in the fleet) used every day to bring news from that army, and bring information from his father to the Emperor. By this means he rose to high favour, and the Emperor gave him the title of Khān—till at length what insurrections and rebellions did he not raise, what sword did he not draw, and what fruit did he not reap! as shall be related in its place, if God (He is exalted!) will.

On the 10th of this month the Emperor encamped at the town of

¹ The fourth month.

strength was such, that for the space of two years he had kept the Khān Zamān uselessly employed in jungle-cutting and fighting, —and even yet that jungle is not as clear as it ought to be— 180 was appointed to go to the assistance of Khān-i 'Ālam with a following numerous as ants or locusts, and a multitude of horses and mares. Then they joined battle having surrounded Hājipūr both by land and by water. The Emperor stationed himself on a high eminence by the waterside to view the battle. But, when on account of the distance and the thick smoke it became no longer visible, he placed some experienced soldiers in a boat, and in the afternoon sent them towards Hājipūr to obtain definite news. Then the garrison of the fortress set in motion against them 18 boats full of warriors. After a severe struggle this handful of men came off victorious against that great host, and joined Khān-i 'Ālam. On the other side Faṭh Khān Bārha with a strong body of Afghāns was maintaining an obstinate resistance. But he fell, and the fortress was taken by assault. The heads of the chiefs, together with the heads of others, were put into a boat and sent to the Emperor, and these he sent into the fort for Dāūd to see, that they might prove to him a warning and a scare. And this *mnemosynon* was composed and presented to his Majesty :—

“The umbrella of the King of religion for the conquest of
 Patnah,
 When it threw its shadow over the district of Patnah,
 On the spur of the moment the Munshī of thought
 Wrote for its date : *Faṭh-i bilād-i Patnah.*”

The next day the Emperor mounted the Panj-pahārī to get a comprehensive view of the fortress of Patnah, and he reconnoitred it on all sides. And the Afghāns, making a last stand determined to fight to the death, kept firing great gun shots, which from a distance of 3 *cossees* fell into the camp (!). And one shot passed over the head of the author, who was in the tent of Sayyid 'Abd-ullāh Khān Jokān Bēgī, governor of Biyānah and Bajūnah, and God (He is exalted !) protected me, and gave me some days respite ; but I do not know how long this respite will last :—

¹ “The taking of the town of Patnah.” $80 + 400 + 8 + 2 + 30 + 1 + 4 + 2 + 400 + 50 + 5 = 982$.

“ However much I have wandered about the world of form,
 Adam was sorrowful, and his descendants helpless,
 Every one in his own degree is a victim to sorrow,
 To none is given a passport [of exemption].”

After the fall of Hājipūr, Dāūd, although he had 20,000 horse-men and fierce war-elephants without number, and powerful artillery, fled shaking with terror, and on the night of the 21st of this month he got into a boat, and making a free choice of flight set the road to Gour as the goal of his cowardice. And Sarhor¹ Hindī Bengālī, who had been the instigator of the death of Lodī, and had received the title of Bikramajit,² placed his treasures in a boat, and followed him. And Gūjar Khān Kararānī (who had the title of *Rakn-ul-dowlah*) sent the elephants forward, and himself made precipitately for the plain. Great numbers through fear cast themselves into the river, and were drowned in the deluge of death. Another body, like mad-men, threw themselves to the ground from the tower and walls of the fortress, and filled up the deep moat with their corpses. Another section were crushed under foot by the elephants in the narrow parts of the streets. When the fugitives arrived at the river Panpan, Gūjar Khān sent the elephants over by the bridge which they had constructed over it, and proceeded on his way. But through the crush of people the bridge broke down, and many renowned leaders of the Afghāns throwing away their baggage and arms cast themselves naked into the river, and never lifted again their heads from the whirl-pool of death. Later on in the evening the Emperor heard of the flight of Dāūd, and entered the city of Patnah, and took 56 elephants in the city as spoil. The following hemistich gives the date :—

“ The kingdom of Sulaimān passed from Dāūd,”³

He left the Khān Khānān in charge of the place, and himself went off in pursuit of Gūjar Khān, who had all the elephants of Dāūd

¹ *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (Elliot V, 378) has *Srīdhar*.

² Sansk. *Vikrama-ditya*.

³ 40 + 30 + 20 + 60 + 30 + 10 + 40 + 1 + 50 + 7 + 4 + 1 + 6 + 4 + 200 + 80 + 400 = 983.

with him. He swam over the river Panpan on horseback, and arrived at Daryāpūr on the bank of the Ganges distant 26 *cosse*s from Patnah. He hastened on by forced marches, and about 400 elephants 182 fell into his hands, but Gūjar Khān escaped. Shabbāz Khān *Mīr Bakhshī*, and Majnūn Khān, who had followed him, went 7 *cosse*s beyond Daryāpūr, and brought word that Gūjar Khān had crossed a small river called Balbhūnd, and that many of his men had been drowned.

On the 21st of the afore-mentioned month the Khan Khānān came by water to Daryāpūr, and brought all the shipping with him. The Emperor remained 6 days at the place. He gave him 10,000 horsemen as an additional reinforcement from the Amīrs who were with him, and all the boats which had come with him from Agra, and having increased the allowance of the army in the proportion of 10 : 30 or 40 : 10 and committed the whole management of the province of Bengāl to him, the Emperor left that place and returned to Ghivāspūr, which is on the banks of the Ganges.

On the second of the month Jamādā'-ayyal¹ of the afore-mentioned year the Emperor appointed Mirza Yūsuf Khān to the command of the world-traversing camp, and sent Muzaffār Khān with Farhāt Khān to reduce the fort of Rohtas, with orders that after he had taken it, he should leave the post of guarding it to Farhāt Khān, and himself return to the Court.

On the 3rd of this month the Emperor came to Patnah, and arranged the affairs of the place, and took a general view of the buildings of Dāūd. And one of the remarkable things is, that in that kingdom there are some houses called *chappar-band*, fetching 30,000 or 40,000 rupees each, although they are only covered with wood. And on the 6th of this month he went to Jounpūr, where he remained one month. He placed that place and Banāras directly under the royal exchequer, and gave the management of them to Mirzā Mirak Razwī, and Shaikh Ibrāhīm Sikrī Wāl. On the 9th of Jamādā'-sān² he set out for Dīhli the capital. He encamped at Khānpūr, 183 and while staying there Qāzī Nizām Badakhshī (who was the wisest of the wise of Badakhshān and Transoxiana, and had attained a thorough

¹ The fifth month.

² The sixth month.

acquaintance with the world of purity and the path of Qāṣṣīsm, and has left behind him a description of a portion of it, by the intervention of Firūzah Kabūlt (who was one of those born in the house of Mirza Muḥammad Haktm, and has great experience as a student of all kinds of knowledge, and writing, and musical intervals, and whose mental stature is wanting in nothing) came and did homage. And "*The Journal Badakhshī*"¹ gives the date Qāzi Nizām was presented with a jewelled sword-belt, and 5,000 rupees in ready money. And on account of his lofty understanding and readiness of wit he by degrees attained the title of Qāzi Khān, and afterwards that of Ghezi Khān; and then he rose to the command of 3,000 men, while Firūzah, who was originally in more honour than himself, and was a jewel by birth, having been a disgraceful retreat declined from what he was, and his business became reversed.

While encamped at this place a message came from the Khān Khānān to the effect, that when Dāūd fled from Patnah he went to Garhī, and having strengthened that fortress and committed it to honoured persons devoted to himself, hastened towards Tāndah. Immediately on the arrival of the Imperial army fear overcame the garrison, and without striking a blow, they evacuated it and fled.

In the month Jamādā'l-ākhir, while the camp was at Shārgarh (otherwise called Gannouj) a book called *Singh-āsan Battī-i*, which is a series of thirty-two tales about Rājah Bikramājīt king of Malwa, and resembles the *Tuḥf-i-nāmah*, was placed in my hands; and I received his Majesty's instructions to make a translation of it in prose and verse. I was to begin the work at once, and present a leaf of my work on that very day. A learned Brāhman was appointed to interpret the book for me. On the first day I completed a leaf
 184 containing the beginning of the first story, and when I presented it, His Majesty expressed his approbation. When the translation was finished, I called it *Nāmah-i Khirad-afzā*,² a name which contains the date of its composition. It was graciously accepted, and placed in the Library.

¹ 4 + 1 + 50 + 1 + 10 + 2 + 4 + 600 + 300 + 10 = 982.

² 50 + 1 + 40 + 5 + 600 + 200 + 4 + 1 + 80 + 7 + 1 = 980. The title means "The book of mental recreation."

“For all this magnificence of the created world”
Is as nothing in the opinion of religious enthusiasts.”

185

See Vol. iii, p. 40 Text

• Compare p. 174

• The three words are *Aman*, *Amān*, and *Imān*.

• The sixth month.

• The seventh month

• To be stripped as bare as the letter *alif* is proverbial.

• Lit. of “be-” and it was.” Somewhat similarly the Creator is often called in post-biblical Hebrew “He who spake and the world was.”

When this matter was reported to the Emperor, he becoming anxious to show him respect, sent him a present of a shawl from his own wardrobe, and an arrow from his own quiver, and gave orders, that he should keep for one season more the pargannas of Kānt o Golah, Patyāli &c., (which was a *jāgīr* worth 1 *kror*, 20 *lacs* of rupees), and that the tax-gatherers should not interfere with him, and that after he had put his troop on the footing required by the *dāgh omahallah*, he should receive a suitable *jāgīr*. So he, who through his extreme liberality and boundless extravagance, far beyond his power and resources, was not able to muster 10 horsemen, procrastinating through force of circumstances, at length arrived at his *jāgīr*, and kept trying to conquer (cf. p. 130) the northern mountains, and so left the Court, that his return is still *in nubibus* :—

“ Give gold to a soldier, and he dies for you ;

Withhold your gold, and he will go forth into the world.”

In the beginning of Sha‘bān¹ the Emperor left Dihli for Ajmīr. While staying at Nārnoul Hasan Quli Khān, Khān Jahān, waited upon him. Also Khān-i A‘zam arrived by forced marches from Almadābād. At the beginning of the blessed month of Ramazān he arrived within 7 *cosses* of Ajmīr, and dismounting in his accustomed manner made a pilgrimage to the shrine, and presented a pair of kettle-drums of Dāūd’s, which he had vowed to the music gallery of his reverence the Khwājah Mu‘in (God sanctify his glorious tomb !). And daily according to his custom held in that sacred shrine by night intercourse with holy, learned, and sincere men, and *seances* for dancing and *qūflism* took place. And the musicians and singers, each one of whom was a paragon without rival, striking their nails into the veins of the heart used to rend the soul with their mournful cries. And *dirhams* and *dinars* were showered down like rain-drops.

At this time the Emperor appointed Tayib Khān, son of Muḥam-
186 mad Tābir Khān *Mīr-farāghat* the commandant of Dihli, with a body of tried warriors to go against Chandar Sen, son of Māldeo,

¹ The eighth month.

who was oppressing the faithful in the neighbourhood of Jondpūr and Siwanah. On the arrival of this army he withdrew into the jungles, which were full of many trees, and fled.

In the middle of the blessed month of Ramazan the Emperor, dismissed Khām Azam to Gujrat, and arrived by continued forced marches at Fāthpūr at the end of this month.

In this year he sent Shāh Qutb Khān Muḥarrām, and Jalāl Khān Qūrchī, and several others of the Amīrs to reduce the fortress of Siwanah, which was held by the grandsons of Māldeo. Jalāl Khān, who was one of the confidential friends, was the most complete master of mirth and wit, and it was not easy for any one else to acquire such a hold on the Emperor's disposition by force of companionship, as this man did. He fought manfully, and attained the grade of martyrdom. And in his case the saying came true: "He enjoyed this world, and won the next." When Shāhbāz Khān Kambū came there he in a very short time got possession of the fortress.

In this year the Emperor sent Mīr Gesū Bakāwal [Begī] to examine into the affairs of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Bakkar, and to guard the fortress of Bakkar.

In this year there was in Gujrat both a general pestilence and also a dearth of grain, to such an extent that one *man* of *javārī* sold for 120 *tankas*, and numberless people died.

And in this year Khwājah Amīna, the absolute Wazīr, surnamed Khwājah-i Jahān, answered the summons of God at Lakhnau at the time of the return of the army from Patnah. And Ḥabībī a poet in the height of his pomp and greatness composed this *rubāʿī*:—

"Thy door is Alexander's wall to people of merit.

Why do they say 'O Gog!' when thy army is.

In thy generation all the signs of the Day of Judgment 187
are manifest.

Thou art Antichrist, and Khwājah Amīna is thy ass."²

Although he was a very by-word for stinginess to such an extent

¹ In Rajputana about 60 miles N. W. of Jondpūr.

² *Al-masīh-ul-dajjāl*, the false Christ, is according to Musalmān tradition the same whom the Jews call *Ham-Māshīah ben Dārid*. He is to appear first between Irāq and Syria, and to be riding upon an ass. See Sale's *Prelim. Disc* Sec. iv.

that he used to eat up the remains of his evening meal, still in the line of getting things done for those who made petitions to the Emperor, whether they were strangers or friends, his equal was not to be found in the world. Whenever he wished to accomplish an affair for any one of the courtiers, he used to settle it for a bribe of gold, at the same time he caused to be given to himself by the Emperor a pāshā-tail, a kettle-drum, and the titles of Khān and Sultān, and whatever *jāgīr* he asked for he got it as a gift. And whatever man of learning or excellence came from Transoxiana or Khórasān, or 'Irāq, or Hindūstān, he caused him to be endowed with a heavy sum of gold from the imperial treasury. Through his exertions also the Amīrs were able to afford a great expenditure, and even to the other courtiers he allowed pecuniary assistance to each in proportion to his state. For instance, for Hāfiz Tashkandī, who was one of the disciples of Rashīd Mulā 'Iṣām-ud-dīn Ibrāhīm Asfarāyanī (?) (who was without equal in the line of Arabic erudition, and who wrote a commentary on the Surah-i Muḥammad¹ (peace be upon him!) from which his Ḥūfī ecstasy may clearly be recognized) he obtained from the Emperor and the Amīrs about 30,000 or 40,000 rupees. Eventually he went to Mun'im Khān, Khān Khānān, with perfect appointments, and thence he started well supplied with gold to go to the sacred Makka in the year nine hundred and seventy-seven. When he returned home he died.

Among the witty sayings is the following. Hāfī Ibrāhīm of Sarhind, who was proud and rude, and quarrelsome and contentious in argument, at one of the Emperor's select assemblies at the time of the presentation of the *Tafsīrī Hāfiz* by Mirzā Muṭlis, who was a master of religious philosophy,² asked "How is *Mūsā* declined?" and "what is the root of the word?" It so happened
 188 that the Mirzā could not manage to answer as he ought to have done, and so to the people, brute-beasts as they are, the superiority of Hāfī Ibrāhīm became an acknowledged fact. And this is but one of the many injustices of the time :—

¹ Al Qur'ān XLVII.

² See Blochmann, p. 541. note

³ Moses.

“ On account of their love of quarrelling some people
Have lost themselves in the street of hopelessness.
Every science, they have learnt in the college,
Will ruin and not profit them in the grave.”

And when the Emperor asked the Qāzi's son Shukr, whom he had made Qāzi of Mat'hura, “ Why do not you join in the discussion ?” he answered : “ If Ḥājī Ibrāhīm were to ask how to decline ‘*Īsā*,’¹ what answer should I give ?” His Majesty very much applauded this speech. A matter of ten years has passed, from that time to this, and all that assembly of arguers and disputants, whether honest enquirers or shams, consisting of more than² a hundred people, not one of them now sees³ [the light of the sun], but all their faces are under the veil of “ Every soul tasteth death ”⁴ :—

“ The grass is grown on the site of their dwelling,
It is as though they were gone to a *rendezvous*.
Of the tribe of dreg-drinkers none but us remain,
Bring the wine, for we are the only survivors—that's something !”

And now, when in conformity with [the Arabic saying] “ A favour, when thou hast lost it, thou recognizest,” I call to mind these my companions, a blood-stream of sorrow flows from my woe-begone eyes, and one laments and wails and says : “ In this abode of sorrow would that they had remained a few days longer, for in any case they were an advantage ! But now all personal intercourse with them is precluded ” :—

“ To be in a prison in the company of friends
Is better than to be in a garden with strangers.”

But as for me this crushed gnat, this copied picture, what cure have I, save the wound of disappointment and secret wail, may God forgive the past, and have mercy on the future :—

¹ Jesus.

² Comp. Text p. 226, l. 1, and 234. l. 1.

³ Comp. οἱ βλέποντες.

⁴ Al Qur'an iii, 182 : xxi, 36 : xxix, 57.

“ On account of their love of *qis* to their hands; but at the
Have lost themselves in the and assemble at the idol temple,
Every science, they have le of its car, or offer up their heads
Will ruin and not profit t^h the exception of those lands held

(*hālīqah*-lands), were held by the
And when the Emperor asked ^{the} were wicked and rebellious, and spent
made Qāzī of Mat'hura. “ W^h and workshops, and amassed wealth, they
answered: “ If Hājī Ibr^ā after the troops, or to take an interest in the
answer should I of emergency they came themselves with some of
their slaves and Moghul attendants to the scene of the war; but of
really useful soldiers there were none. Shahbāz Khān,¹ the *Mīr*
Bakhshī, introduced the custom and rule of *dāgh u maḥall*, which had
been the rule of Sulṭān ‘Alā-ud-dīn Khiljī, and afterwards the law
under Shēr Shāh. It was settled that every Amīr should commence
as commander of twenty (*Bīsī*), and be ready with his followers
to mount guard, carry messages, &c., as had been ordered; and
when according to the rule he had brought the horses of his twenty
troopers to be branded, he was then to be made a commander of 100
(*Çadī*), or of more. They were likewise to keep elephants, horses,
and camels in proportion to their command (*maṇṣab*), according to
the same rule. When they had brought to the muster their new con-
tingent complete, they were to be promoted according to their merits
and circumstances to the post of commander of 1000 (*Hazārī*), or
2000 (*Dūhazārī*), or even of 5000 (*Panḥazārī*), which is the highest
command; but if they did not do well at the musters they were to be
degraded. But notwithstanding this new regulation the condition
of the soldiers grew worse, because the Amīrs did as they pleased.
For they put most of their own servants and mounted attendants
into soldiers' clothes, brought them to the musters, and performed
everything according to their duties. But when they got their *jāgīrs*
they gave leave to their mounted attendants, and when a new emer-
gency arose, they mustered as many ‘borrowed’ soldiers as were requir-
ed, and sent them away again, when they had served their purpose.
Hence while the income and expenditure of the *maṇṣabdār* ¹⁹¹
remained *in statu quo*, ‘dust fell into the platter of the helpless

¹ On the text of this passage see Blochmann, p. 242, note 2.

soldier,' so much so, that he was no longer fit for anything. But from all sides there came a lot of low tradespeople, weavers and cotton-cleaners, carpenters, and green-grocers, both Hindū and Musalmān, and brought borrowed horses, got them branded, and were appointed to a command, or were made *Krorīs*, or *Aḥadīs*, or *Dākhilīs*¹ to some unit; and when a few days afterwards no trace was to be found of the imaginary horse and the visionary saddle, they had to perform their duties on foot. Many times it happened at the musters, before the Emperor himself in his special audience hall that they were weighed in their clothes with their hands and feet tied, when they were found to weigh from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 *man* more or less; and after inquiry it was found that they were all hired, and that their very clothes and saddles were borrowed articles. His Majesty then used to say, "With my eyes thus open I must give these men pay, that they may have something to live on." After some time had passed away His Majesty divided the *Aḥadīs* into *duaspah*,² *yakaspah*, and *nīmaspah*, in which latter case two troopers kept one horse together, and shared the stipulated salary, which amounted to six rupees:—

"Lo! see all this in my day, but ask no questions."

And this bazaar became much frequented, but the shop of real military-service³ was deserted. But notwithstanding all this His Majesty's good luck overcame all enemies, so that large numbers of soldiers were not very necessary, and the Amīrs had no longer to suffer from the inconvenient reluctance of their followers.⁴

In this year Mun'im Khān, Khān Khānān, sent Rājah Todar Mal with orders to go in pursuit of Dāūd towards Orissa, and Majnūn
 192 Khān Qāqshāl to go towards G'horāg'hāt, and went himself to Katak Banāras, in which strong fortress Dāūd, after his flight from Tāndah, was endeavouring to shut himself up, and commenced operations against him. Majnūn Khān at G'horāg'hāt fought first of all against Sulaimān

¹ On these two terms see Blochm., p. 231.

² That is, having respectively one horse, two horses, and a half share in a horse.

³ *Kash* = *Kamar* "girdle." Thus *Kashbandi* = *Kamarbandi* "military service."

⁴ *Turki* ترقی means a servant, but not a royal one.

Mankli the *āghr-lār* of that district, who was distinguished for the number of his forces, the greatness of his pomp, and his excessive valour. Him he cast into the dust of death; and the Qāqshāl party took so many of the enemy that they were unable to carry them off; and the wives and families of the Afghāns fell into their hands. Then Majnūn Khān asked the daughter of Sulaimān Mankli in marriage for his son, who at the present time in the service of the Emperor ranks among the Amirs. Next making war in the neighbourhood of Ghoraḡhat with the sons of Jalāl-ud-dīn Sūr (who once on a time had had the *khathab* read and coin struck in that district) they with the assistance of the *zamīndārs* of that district defeated him, and pursuing him to Tandah took possession of the fortress of Gaur. Muḥin-ud-dīn Aḥmad Khān Farākhūdi and Majnūn Khān kept guard over Tandah, and awaited the news of the Khān Khānān's victory, until after the defeat of Dāūd, [and] the publication of the news of the Khān Khānān's return, the Afghāns retired into the jungles and effectually hid themselves.

Rājah Todar Mal, who had been sent in pursuit of Dāūd, in conjunction with Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlas, and Muḥammad Qulī Khān Taqyat,¹ and Muzaffar Moghūl reached Gwālyār² a dependency of Bengāl by continuous marches from Madāran. Dāūd went 10 *cosses* forward from that place and gathered a large force together [at] a place called Darinkasārī,³ and fortified Rohirpūr.⁴ Meanwhile Junaid, uncle's son of Dāūd (who was renowned for valour and bravery, 193 and had formerly served under the Emperor, but had fled from Āgrah to Gujrat, and from Gujrat came to Bengāl), arrived at the confines of Rinkasārī⁵ and wished to form a junction with Dāūd.

¹ Perhaps this ought to be *Toqbāi* which is the name of a Chaghtāi tribe.

² It should probably be *Gwālpārah* (note by Editor). Elliot, p. 385 has *Gowālpāra*.

³ Probably a corruption of *dar Rinkasārī*, "in Rinkasārī." Elliot, V, p. 385, has *Dinkasārī*. The confusion between *R*, *Δ* *D* and *V*, as also between other letters which resemble one another is frequent in MSS., and printed editions, especially in the case of proper names.

⁴ This ought to be Harpūr, see Bloehm., p. 375.

⁵ Here the word seems to be spelt correctly.

Rājah Todar Mal sent Mirzā Abu-l-Qāsim, who is surnamed Tamkīn,¹ together with Nazar Bahādur to attack him. But these two were defeated by him and returned with broken reins to the Rājah. Then the Rājah went in person to oppose him, and he being unable to withstand him took refuge in the jungle. Thence the Rājah went to Medinipūr, where he remained some days. At that place Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās fell sick, and passed to the world of eternity. His loss was a great cause of weakness to the Imperial forces. Then he returned from Medinipūr to Madāran.² At this place Qiyā Khān Gang, being offended with the Amīr's without any just cause, retired to the jungle. Rājah Todar Mal wrote an account of his doings to the Khān Khānān, and remained at Madāran. The Khān Khānān sent Shāhim Khān Jalāir, and Lashkar Khān, *Bakhshī* (who was once called 'Askar Khān and afterwards Astar Khān), with others to the assistance of the Rājah. They joined the Rājah at Bardwān. Then he went off alone, and pacified Qiyā Khān, and brought him back. Afterwards he marched by way of Madāran and came to Bajhōrah.³ While at Borchīn news arrived that Dāūd had left his wives and family at Katak Banāras, and was busy making preparations for war. The Khān Khānān came in haste to oppose him, and formed a junction with the Rājah. The Afghāns surrounded their camps with a moat, and fortified it.

194 On the 20th of Zī-l qa'dah of the year nine hundred and eighty-two (982) the armies were drawn up in the neighbourhood of Bajhōrah, and Mangalūsī⁴ elephants were arranged on both sides. Such a tremendous battle took place, that the tongue of the pen is unable to do justice to the description of it. When the elephants of Dāūd (all of which were fed on good grass and were madder than can be imagined) were put into motion, the Khān Khānān ordered the swivel guns, and cannon which were mounted on carriages in front

¹ Another reading is *Ghangīn*. Elliot, V, p. 385 has *Namakī*. Blochm., p. 470 gives *Namakīn*.

² In Jahānābād, a parganna of the Hūglī district, between Bardwān and Medinipūr, Blochm., p. 375.

³ See Blochm., p. 375. Elliot, V, p. 386 has *Jitūra*.

⁴ The elephants of Mangalūs were famous for their great size, and their white colour. See Vüller's Dictionary.

of the line, to open fire upon them. Upon this some of the renowned elephants, which were advancing, turned tail, and some of the veteran leaders of the Afghāns were mown down by the cannonade. At this juncture Gūjar Khān, who was leader of the advance guard of Dāūd, made a sharp attack on Khān-i-Ālam, and Khwājah 'Abd-ullāh, and Kanjak¹ Khwājah, and Sayyid 'Abd-ullāh Chogān Bēgī, and Mirzā 'Alī 'Ālam Shāhī, who composed the vanguard, and in the first charge put them to flight and drove them in on the *Altamsh*²-corps, of which Qiya Khān Gang was the leader. Khān-i-Ālam, leader of the vanguard bravely held his ground, and was killed. The *Altamsh*-corps was thrown into confusion, and driven back on the main-body,³ where the Khān Khānān with the other mountain-like Amīrs had stationed himself, and the main-body was thrown into utter confusion and rout. However much the Khān Khānān exerted himself to stay the panic, and restore order, it was all in vain. At this moment Gūjar Khān came up, and showered blow upon blow on the Khān Khānān, who being without a sword was obliged to parry the cuts of Gūjar Khān's sword with his whip, till at last the horse of the Khān Khānān being frightened by the 195 elephants became unmanageable and bolted with him, and his rider, losing all command, struck the foot of his dignity against a stone and got a fall. He went at full speed for 3 or 4 *cosses* on the pretext of collecting the fugitives, and the Afghāns pursued him part of the way. Then Qiya Khān Gang and some others of the archers' surrounded the Afghāns on every side, and pouring showers of arrows upon them, riddled their ranks like a sieve. The affair had reached such a pitch that neither friends nor foes had any longer strength left in them to move, when suddenly from the bow of destiny an arrow reached a mortal part of Gūjar Khān, who was riding at full speed, and brought him to the ground. His soldiery seeing themselves without a leader fell into utter confusion, and turned their backs on the field, and many of them were slain. At this moment the standard-bearer

¹ Another reading is *Kajak Khān Khwājah*. Perhaps the name is *Kījak*.

² A Turkī word meaning "sixty." It is applied to a force placed at the head of an army between the advanced guard and the general, De Courteille, *Dict. Turk.-Orient.* p. 31.

³ *Ghāl*, a Hindī word.

⁴ This word اوقچی is Turkī.

of Khān-i-Ālam¹ brought his standard to the Khān Khānān. Soon after this event news of the death of Gūjar Khān reached Mun'im Khān,² and he turning his horse rallied some of his men and poured a shower of arrows on the enemy, whose souls like moths began to flit from their emptied bodies. Rājah Todar Mal, and Lashkar Khān, and the other Amīrs, who had taken their stand on the right of the Imperial army attacked the left of the enemy, of which Ismā'il Khān Ābdār, surnamed Khān Khānān, was leader. At the same time Shāhim Khān Jalāir, and Pāyandah Muḥammad Khān Moghūl and other leaders of the Imperial left attacked the right wing of the Afghāns, where Khān Jahān, commandant of Orissa, was stationed. On both wings they drove the enemy back on the main-body, where Dāūd was stationed with the other chief Amīrs of the Afghāns. His elephants were so irritated by the arrows that they turned round on his own ranks and threw the whole line into confusion. At this moment the standard of the Khān

196 Khānān shone from afar as a sign of victory, and news of the death of Gūjar Khān reached Dāūd, and his resolution was shaken, so that :—

“To save what he could he gave his body to flight.

He was content to receive his soul as spoil.”³

and most of the mountain-like elephants moving like clouds he gave to the wind, and that proverb became true “*one soldier flees, and it is all over with the soldiery.*”

The Khān Khānān remained some days at this place to heal his own wounds, and those of his men. And Lashkar Khān, who had been mortally wounded, joined the host (*lashkar*) of the Father of all flesh.⁴ Meanwhile Dāūd in his flight had reached Katak Banāras⁵ so the Khān Khānān sent Rājah Todar Mal, with Shāhim Khān Jalāir, and Qiyā Khān, and Sayyid ‘Abdullāh Khān, and

¹ He had just been killed. See above.

² The Khān Khānān.

³ This expression is common in Persian for “escaping with one’s life.” Comp. the Hebrew expression Jer. xxi, 9, &c.

⁴ I. e., died.

⁵ In the centre of Orissa. *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*. It is commonly known as Cuttack.

Muhammad Qulī Khān Toqṙāī. and Sa'īd Khān Badakhshī in pursuit of him, and promised to follow them himself as soon as his wounds were healed. This army marched as far as Kalkal-g'hātī. Dāūd and the rest of the Afghāns held Katak Banāras, and finding the wide field of honour to be contracted around them, determined to fight to the death, and made energetic preparations to withstand the siege. When the Khān Khānān heard news of this, he set off in person for Katak Banāras and alighted on the banks of the Mahānadi.¹ and brought forward proposals of peace. After considerable opposition and difficulty it was settled with the Amīrs that Dāūd should come and have an interview with the Khān Khānān. Peace was renewed on a firm basis and it was decided that a reasonable portion of the wide kingdom of Bengāl, in conformity with the advice and consent of the Amīrs, should be assigned to him. On the day appointed a royal feast in the style of Jamshīd and Āfrīdūn was arranged, and the Amīrs took their proper places in accordance with their ranks, and the troops were drawn up in splendid array at the door of the audience-pavilion. On the other side the officers of Bengāl with a pomp and grandeur like Solomon's came out from Katak Banāras with the chieftains 197 of the Afghāns, and entering the camp of the Khān Khānān proceeded towards the audience-pavilion. The Khān Khānān with the greatest humility and respect practised all the ceremonies of reverence, and even advanced half way down the pavilion to meet them. When they met, Dāūd loosed his sword, and laying it before the Khān Khānān said, "Since it brings wounds and pain on such worthy men as you. I am sick of war." The Khān Khānān gave the sword to one of his body-guard, and taking Dāūd's hand led him to a cushion, and made him sit down by his side, and made the most kind and fatherly inquiries. All kinds of food and drinks and sweetmeats were served, and the Khān Khānān pressed him to partake of the dainties, and entertained him with great good humour and graciousness. After the removal of the dishes they proceeded to business, and drew up a treaty. Then the Khān Khānān sent for a sword with a jewelled belt out of his

¹ On which Cuttack stands. The word means "great river." The name in the printed text is a blunder.

through his good rule; and when also news arrived from Badakhshān of the coming of Mīrzā Sulaimān, who was a prince of Qūfī tendencies, and had become a *Ḥāhib-i-ḥāl*,¹ and a *Murīd*: for these urgent reasons he had the very cell of Shaikh ‘Abd-ullāh Niyāzī Sarhindī (who had formerly been a disciple of Shaikh Islām Chishtī, but had afterwards joined the circle of Mahdeva)² repaired, and built a spacious hall on all four sides of it. He also finished the construction of the tank called *Anūptalāo*.³ He named that cell the *‘Ibādat-khānah*, which became by degrees *‘Iyādat-khānah*,⁴ and Mullā Sherī composed a *qaṣīdah* on the subject, of which the following is a verse :—

“ In these days I have seen, united with the wealth of Qārūn.
The ritual of Pharūn, and the buildings of Shaddād.”

On Fridays after prayers he would go from the new chapel of the Shaikh-ul-Islām, and hold a meeting in this building. Shaikhs, Ulamā, and pious men, and a few of his own companions and attendants were the only people who were invited. Discussions were carried on upon all kinds of instructive and useful topics. One day Jalāl Khān Qūrchi, who was my patron, and the means of introducing me to Court,⁵ in the course of conversation and disputation made the following statement to the Emperor: “When I went to Āgrah to see Shaikh Ziyā-ullāh, son of Shaikh Muḥammad Ghons, I found that poverty had taken such a hold on his household, that one day at a meeting he asked for some *sers* of pulse. Part of it he
202 used for his own food, part he gave to me, and the other part he sent to his household.” The Emperor was much impressed on hearing this, and sent for Shaikh Ziyā-ullāh with a view to showing him kindness. He assembled a party in his honour at the *‘Ibādat-khānah*, and every Thursday evening he invited Sayyids, Shaikhs, Ulamā, and Amīrs. But ill-feeling arose in the company

¹ One who attains the state of ecstasy and close union with God.

² Śiva. That is he had Hindū-ized.

³ Hindūstānī *Anūp* = Sanskrit *Anupama* “incomparable”; and *talāo* corruption of *talāb*, from Sanskrit *taḍāga* “pond.”

⁴ Another reading is *‘Ibārat*. The meaning is obscure.

⁵ See p. 175.

a miserable age." Among other stories Khān Jalān said that he had heard that Makhdūm-ul-Mulk had given a *fatwā*, that the ordinance of pilgrimage was no longer binding, but even hurtful. When people had asked him the reason of his extraordinary *fatwā*, he had said that the two roads to Makkah, through Persia and over Gnjrāt, were impracticable, because people in going by land¹ had to suffer injuries at the hands of the *Qizilbāshīs*,² and in going by sea they had to put up with indignities from the Portuguese, whose passports had pictures of Mary and Jesus (peace be upon Him!) stamped on them. To make use, therefore, of the latter alternative would mean to countenance idolatry; hence both roads were closed. Another tale was that of Makhdūm-ul-Mulk's device for avoiding payment of the legal alms due upon his wealth. Towards the end of each year he used to make over all his property to his wife, but before the year had run out he took it back again.³ It is said that he practised some other tricks of which even the Israelites would have been ashamed. Stories were told one after another about his meanness and shabbiness, and baseness and worldliness, and oppression, all which vices were exhibited towards holy and deserving men, especially those of the Panjāb, and which one by one came to light, verifying the saying: "There is a day when secrets shall be disclosed."⁴ They told also other stories founded upon his villainy, sordid disposition, and contemptible conduct, and they ended by deciding that he ought to be shipped off *nolens volens* to Makkah. When he was asked if he thought that pilgrimage was a duty for a man in his circumstances he said "No!"⁵ At this time Shaikh 'Abd-un-Nabī was rising into power, while the star of the Moulānā was fast sinking. The Emperor on account of his great

¹ I. e., by Persia.

² The Shi'ahs of Persia. So named from their *red caps*, see Fraser's novel *Kazul-bāsh*.

³ Alms are due on every surplus stock or store which a Sunnī possesses at the end of a year, provided that surplus have been in his possession for a whole year. Blochm., 173, note 1.

⁴ Al Qur'ān LXXXVI, 9.

⁵ He meant to say he was poor, and thus refuted the charges brought against him. Blochm., p. 173.

could manage to get his affair settled; but such as were destitute of such recommendations had to bribe Sayyid 'Abd-ur-rasūl, the Shaikh's head-man, or make presents to his chamberlains, door-keepers, and sweepers, in order to get their blanket out of the mire. Unless, however, they had either strong recommendations, or had recourse to bribery, they were utterly ruined. Many of the *Aimaks*, without obtaining their object, died from the heat caused by the crowding of the multitudes. Though a report of this came to the ears of His Majesty, no one dared to take these unfortunate people before the Emperor. And when the Shaikh, in all his pride and haughtiness, took his place upon his official seat, and influential Amīrs introduced to him in his audience-hall scientific or pious men, the Shaikh used to receive them in his infamous manner, coming forward and paying respect to none. And after much asking, begging and exaggerating he allowed, for example, a teacher of the *Hidāyah*¹ and other college books. 100 *Bīḡahs* more or less; and though such a man might have been a long time in possession of more extensive lands, the Shaikh took them away. But to men of no renown, to low fellows, even to Hindūs, he granted lands for the first time. Thus learning and learned men fell from day to day into lower estimation. Even in the very audience-hall, when after midday prayers he sat down on his throne of pride, and washed his hands and feet, he took care to spirt the water, which he had used, on the head and face and garments of the great Amīrs, and courtiers of high degree who were near, and made no exception. And they with a view to helping the poor suppliants bore all this, and condescended to fawn on him, and flatter and toady him to his heart's content, so that eventually they got back all that he had received from them:—

“ When a rustic becomes a judge,²

He wills such decrees, that they will kill him.”

Never in the time of any Emperor had such absolute power been
206 given into the hand of any Qadr.

¹ A book on Law. The word means “ Guidance.”

² Jack in office.

About this time the Emperor appointed me as an Imām, and directed me also to undertake the office of marking the imperial horses with the brand. He gave me no very considerable travelling-expenses and ordered me from the first to act as *maṇṣabḍār* commanding twenty in bringing horses to the brand. Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl was treated in the same way, so that we were, as Shabli said with respect to Junaid,¹ (God bless their spirits!) “both baked in one kiln.” Yet he, at once making a successful beginning, worked so strenuously at the *dāgh-u-maḥallī* business, that he managed by his intelligence and time-serving qualities to raise himself to a *maṇṣab* of two thousand, and the dignity of *Wazīr*. While I, from my inexperience and simplicity, could not manage to continue in the service; and this piece of satirical poetry, which one of the Sayyids of Ānjū composed in reference to his own circumstances, came to my mind :—

“Thou hast made me a courtier and commander of twenty,
Let not my mother know of my nothingness.”

I reflected that there were still hopes of securing contentment (that best of possessions!) by means of a *madaḍ-i-ma‘āsh*, which would enable me to retire from the world, and apply myself to study and devotion, while free from the cares of the world :—

“Seek not worldly pomp, let go transitory happiness,

The pomp of Religion is enough, and the happiness of Islām
for thee ;”

but this was not easy. In the month of Shawwāl in the year nine hundred and eighty-three (983), on my applying for leave of absence, it was refused, but the Emperor excused my inspections of the horses. Still through the unfriendly disposition of the Ḥadr, and the unpropitiousness of the times he only allotted to me a tenure to the amount of 1000 *bīgaḥs* of land, which in that iron age appeared to be equivalent to the fief of a commander of twenty. It was styled also in the *farmān* a *madaḍ-i-ma‘āsh*. I represented that with this small tenure I could not afford to be always in attendance on the Court, to which the Emperor replied that he would also give me subsidies and presents during the marches. And Shaikh ‘Abd-un-

¹ Two of the principal saints of Islām.

entitled *Najāt-ur-rashīd*,¹ in which the subject is briefly discussed. But to make things worse, Naqīb Khān fetched a copy of the *Muwattā* of Imām Mālik, and pointed to a Tradition in the book, which the Imām had cited as a proof against the legality of *Mut'ah* marriages.

Another night Qāzī Ya'qūb, Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl, Hājī Ibrāhīm, and a few other Ulamā were invited to meet His Majesty at the house near the *Anūptalāo* tank. Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl had been selected as the opponent, and laid before the Emperor several Traditions regarding *Mut'ah* marriages, which his father had collected, and the discussion commenced. At this juncture the Emperor sent 209 for me also, and asked me what my opinion was on this subject. I said: "The conclusion to be drawn from so many contradictory Traditions and sectarian customs is in a word this:—Imām Mālik and the Shīahs are unanimous in looking upon *Mut'ah* marriages as legal; Imām Shāfi'ī and the great Imām² (the mercy of God be on them both!) look upon *Mut'ah* marriages as illegal. But should at any time a Qāzī of the Mālikī sect decide that a *Mut'ah* is legal, it is legal according to the common belief, even for Shāfi'īs and Ḥanafīs. Every other opinion on the subject is idle talk." This pleased His Majesty very much. Qāzī Ya'qūb said something unintelligible. I reminded him that, when a matter is doubtful, it is generally in the power of the Qāzī to decide. "So what do you say about it?" And in reference to this appeal of mine I brought forward the question of reading the *Fātiḥah* according to the martyred Imām, and I adduced many other confirmations, and as briefly as possible the story of the going of Shaikh Bihā-ud-dīn Zakaryāī of Multān to Baghdād to visit the Shaikh of Shaikhs Shihāb-ud-dīn Saharūrdī (God bless the spirits of them both!), and of that great man's beginning to read the *Fātiḥah* according to the Shāfi'ī school, and of the suspicions of the ordinary Ulamā against them, and of the bringing forward of Traditions which allowed it, and of the matter being eventually decided by the Qāzīs of Dihlī. So I maintained that it is allowable. Then Qāzī Ya'qūb helplessly

¹ A copy of this work is to be found among the Persian MSS. of the As. Soc., Bengal. *Blochm.*, p. 104, note 2.

² *Ḥanīfah*.

said after me : "What shall we say ? God be praised it is allowed." The Emperor then said, "I herewith appoint Qāzī Ḥusain 'Arab Mālīkī as Qāzī before whom I lay this case concerning my wives, and you Ya'qūb are from this day suspended." This was immediately obeyed, and Qāzī Ḥusain on the spot gave the decree which made *Mut'ah* marriages legal. The veteran lawyers such as Makhdūm-ul-Mulk, Qāzī Ya'qūb, and others, were the losers by this affair, and from this moment their power began to wane. The result was that a few days later Maulānā Jalāl-ud-dīn of Multān, who was a profound and learned man, whose grant had been transferred, was 210 ordered from Āgrah,¹ and appointed Qāzī of the realm. Qāzī Ya'qūb was sent to Gaur as district Qāzī. From this day forward the road of opposition and difference in opinion lay open, and remained so until His Majesty was appointed *Mujtahid* of the Empire : and so on, and on, and on, until he reached any degree of exaltation !

At this time Shaikh 'Abd-un-Nabī and Makhdūm-ul-Mulk were ordered to examine into the matter, and to decide the amount of tax to be levied on Hindūs, and *farmāns* were issued in all directions : but this order quickly disappeared like a reflection on the water.

In these days His Majesty once asked how people would like it, if he ordered the words *Allāh Akbar* to be cut on the Imperial seal, and the dies of his coins. Most said that the people would like it very much, but Ḥājī Ibrāhīm objected, and said, that the phrase had an ambiguous meaning,² and that the Emperor might substitute the verse of the Qur'ān *Lazikrullāhi Akbaru*,³ because it involved no ambiguity. But the Emperor was much displeased, and said it was surely sufficient, that no man who felt his weakness would claim Divinity ; he merely looked to the propriety of the words,—how could it be reasonable that his meaning should be so distorted ?

¹ To Faṭhpūr Sikrī.

² 'God is great,' or 'Akbar is God.'

³ To commemorate God is the greatest thing.

In this year, before the decision about *Mut'ah* marriages, the Emperor appointed Sayyid Muḥammad, *Mīr 'Adl*, for whom he entertained the highest respect, to go to Bakkar, and presented him with one of his own swords, and a horse, and a dress. Some time after arriving there he died (the mercy of God be upon him!). After his death a dress came into vogue, which to this day has never looked well on any one's figure, one would say that it was as *bizarre* as the age! Some people mentioned that Hāji Ibrāhīm of Sarhind had given a *fatwā*, by which he made it *ḥalāl* to wear red and yellow cloths,¹ quoting at the same time a Tradition as
 211 his proof. On hearing this the *Mīr 'Adl* in the imperial presence called him an accursed wretch, abused him, and lifted up his stick to strike him, when the Hāji by some subterfuges managed to get rid of him.

During this year there arrived at Court Hakīm Abu-l-Faṭḥ, Hakīm Humāyūn (who subsequently changed his name to Humāyūn Qulī, and lastly to Hakīm Humān), and Nūr-ud-dīn, who as poet is known under the name of Qarārī. They were brothers, and came from Gilān, near the Caspian Sea. The eldest brother, whose manners and address were exceedingly winning, obtained in a short time great ascendancy over the Emperor. He flattered him openly, adapted himself to every change in the religious ideas of His Majesty, or even went in advance of them, and thus became in a short time a most intimate friend of the Emperor.

Soon after there came from Persia Mullā Muḥammad of Yazd, who got the name of Yazīdī, and attaching himself to the Emperor commenced openly to revile the *Çahabah*,² told queer stories about them, and tried hard to make him a Shī'ah. But he was soon left behind by Bir Baḡ—that bastard!—and by Shaikh Abu-l-Faṣl, and Hakīm Abu-l-Faṭḥ, who successfully turned the Emperor from Islām, and led him to reject inspiration, prophetship, the miracles of the Prophet and of the saints, and even the whole law, so that I could no longer bear their company. Their eventual fates shall be told, each in its proper place, if God (He is exalted !) will.

¹ Such as women may use. *Blochem*.

² Companions of Mahomet.

At the same time His Majesty ordered Qāzī Jalāl-ud-dīn, and several Ulamā, to write a commentary on the Qur'ān; but this led to great dissensions among them.

Deb Chand Rājah Manjholah—that fool!—once set the whole Court in laughter by saying that Allāh after all had great respect for cows,¹ else the cow would not have been mentioned in the first chapter of the Qur'ān.²

His Majesty had also the early history of Islām read out to him, and soon began to think less of the *Çaḥabah*. Soon after, the observance of the five prayers, and the fasts, and the belief in everything connected with the Prophet, were put down as vain superstitions, and man's reason, not tradition, was acknowledged as the only basis of religion. Portuguese priests also came frequently; and His Majesty enquired into the articles of their belief, which are based upon reason:—

“ Whatever imagination their intellect invents,
God laughs at the intellect of people of that creed.”

And in this year the Emperor sent for Shaikh Badr-ud-dīn to come to the *‘Ibādat-khānah*. He was the son of Shaikh Islām Chishtī. He was much given to prayer, and having given up all attendance on princes, had become his father's successor, and had found favour with God, and become a recluse, and occupied himself only in fasting, zeal, repeating God's name, exercising poverty, and reading the Qur'ān. Since the old customs of respect in sitting, rising, and speaking were no longer observed by him, he committed many breaches of etiquette, and other misfortunes coming in succession, after three or four years, without saying anything to any one, he left the Court in sheer disappointment and despair, and went to Ajmīr, and thence to Gujrāt, where he took ship alone to make a pilgrimage to Makkah. There he fasted, till he obtained spiritual union with

¹ He meant to imply that the Qur'ān agrees with the Vedas in reverence for the cow.

² *Surat-ul-baqarah*, the “Sura of the heifer.” It is really the 2nd Sura, but the 1st is only an introduction (*Fātiḥah*). Similarly Ps. ii is quoted as “the first Psalm.” Acts, xiii, 33 (Codex D).

God, and in the hot air with naked feet performed the circuits, so that he attained the honour of reaching the heavenly Ka'bah, and enjoyed union with the Lord of Glory¹ (O God make me a partaker thereof!) :—

O Kamāl thou art gone
 From the Ka'bah to the Door of the Friend.
 A thousand times *Āfrīn!*²
 Thou art gone like a man.

In this year a learned Brāhman, Shaikh B'hāwan, had come from the Dak'hin and turned Musalmān, when His Majesty gave me the order to translate the *At'harban*. Several of the religious precepts of this book resemble the laws of Islām. As in translating I found many difficult passages, which Shaikh B'hāwan could not interpret either, I reported the same to His Majesty, who ordered Shaikh Faizī, and then Hāji Ibrāhīm, to translate it. The latter, 213 though willing, did not write anything. Among the precepts of the *At'harban* there is one which says that no man will be saved unless he reads a certain passage. This passage contains many times the letter *l*, and resembles very much our *Lā illāh illā' llāh*. Besides I found that a Hindū under certain circumstances may eat cow-flesh; and also that Hindūs bury their dead, but do not burn them. With such passages the Shaikh used to defeat other Brāhmans in argument, and they had in fact led him to embrace Islām (God be thanked for this!).

In the month Sha'bān³ of this year Gulbadan Bēgum, daughter of Bābar Pādshāh and paternal aunt to the Emperor, who had, in the year nine hundred and eighty-two (982) in company with Salimah Sultān Bēgum daughter of Nūr-ud-dīn Muḥammad Mīrza (who was formerly wife of Bairām Khān, *Khān Khānān*, and afterwards entered the Hāram of the Emperor), left Āgrah for Hījāz and tarried one year in Gujrāt, and attained that felicity,⁴ and thus per-

¹ I. e., he died at Makkah.

² Bravo!

³ The eighth month.

⁴ That is, reached Makkah.

formed the four pilgrimages.¹ On her return, she remained another whole year at 'Aden through shipwreck, and arrived in Hindūstān in the year nine hundred and ninety (990). And from that time it became an established practice for five or six years that one of the nobles of the Court was made Leader of the pilgrims, and a general permission was given to the people, so that at great public expense, with gold and goods and rich presents, the Emperor sent them on a pilgrimage to Makkah. But this was afterwards abandoned.

In this year Mīrzā Sulaimān, who from the time of the reign of Bābar had held absolute rule over Badakhshān—after that his promising son Ibrāhīm Mīrzā had been slain in war with Pīr Muḥammad Khān Uzbek in Balkh, and the decease² of Walī Nī'mat Bēgum, and after that various acts of a perverse and rebellious nature had taken place on the part of Shāh Rukh Mīrzā, son of Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, who had gone into rebellion with a view to usurping the whole government of Badakhshān—first of all came to Kābul hoping to obtain help from Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm.³ When 214 his hope failed to be realized, he requested that an escort might be given him to conduct him through the dangerous districts as far as the Indus. The Mīrzā met his request with the greatest urbanity and politeness, and appointed him an escort, which deserted him at the first stage and returned to Kābul, and in accordance with:—

“ May it not be that thou remain long in this world !

For old age is humiliation, and nonentity,”

taking his daughter with him in full confidence in God he travelled into Hind, alone and unattended. At several places the Afghāns opposed his progress by force of arms; but the Mīrzā, showing the most intrepid bravery, and wounded with an arrow, after a hundred troubles arrived at the river Indus. Thence he sent two or three horsemen, men born in his house, with a petition to the Court. Then the Emperor sent 50,000 rupees and abundant other necessar-

¹ Kerbela, Kūm, Mashhad, and Makkah.

² For *jauf* read *faut*,

³ Brother of Akbar, and Commandant of Kābul.

ies. and a team of horses of pure 'Irāqī breed by the hand of Aghā Khān the treasurer to give the Mirzā an honourable reception. And before this Rājah Bhagwān Dās, governor of Lāhōr, in accordance with a *farmān* had gone to the Indus to meet him, and was showing him day by day suitable hospitality. The Amīrs and governors also of every *parganna* and town on the way, in accordance with the recognised laws of hospitality promoted his wish to go forward. In this manner they brought the Mirzā [to the Court].

Meanwhile A'zam Khān¹ (who is also called Khān-i A'zam) was sent for from Gujrāt to appear at the Court, with which command he hastened to comply, and did homage at Fatḥpūr on the 4th of Rajab² in the year nine hundred and eighty-three (983). One day he broached the subject of the new regulations about branding horses, and the management of tax-collecting, and of contracting for the army, and of the distressed condition of agriculturists and other acts of oppression. Everything that he knew about these things he mentioned with unqualified disapprobation. For some time the Emperor, from old habit, could not endure this unpleasant plain-
 215 speaking, and ordered that for some time he should be forbidden the royal presence, and appointed officers to prevent any of the nobles from visiting him. After some days he sent him to Āgrah, that, closing the door of egress and ingress in the face of mankind, he might practise the retirement of a monastic solitude in his own garden. Now Mirzā Sulaimān having arrived at Mattra³ by continued journeys from Lāhōr, Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān, and Qāzī Nizām Badakhshī (to whom the Mirzā had given the title of Qāzī-Khān, and who had obtained from the Court the title of Ghāzī-Khān) came from the great Amīrs to meet him. On the 15th of Rajab Mirzā Sulaimān reached the neighbourhood of Fatḥpūr; and first of all the nobles, and magnates of the Court, and the pillars of the State, and afterwards the Emperor himself, with the assembled Amīrs

¹ Viz., Mirzā 'Azīz Kokah, son of Atgah Khān. His mother was Akbar's wetnurse, so that, however much Azīz might offend he was seldom punished. Akbar used to say, "Between me and Azīz is a river of milk which I cannot cross." Blochm., pp. 321, 325. He was appointed governor of Gujrāt in 979.

² The seventh month.

³ N. W. of Āgrah.

went out five *cosses* to meet him. And on that day 5,000 elephants, some with housings of European velvet, and some with Turkish cloth of gold, and some with chains of gold and of silver, and with black and white fringes hung on their heads and necks, were drawn up in line on both sides: also Arabian and Persian horses with golden saddles of like splendour. And between each pair of elephants they placed a car of cheetahs with golden collars, and coverings of velvet and fine linen, and an oxen-car with fillets of embroidered gold. And the whole face of the wilderness, in this manner, became like a vision of Spring, and the desert and hill-country like the reflection of a tulip-bed. And when he saw the Emperor afar off, he alighted without hesitation from his horse, and ran forward to meet him with *salāms*. The Emperor with politeness quickly descended from his saddle to the ground, and would not permit him to pay any of the formal acts of politeness, and customary humiliations. After embracing him he remounted, and ordered that he should ride with him, and occupied himself in making the kindest enquiries after his welfare. In the palace [called] *Anūptalāo* (the door, walls and interior of which they had furnished with figured canopies of gold cloth, and splendid carpets, and golden vessels and all other kinds of furniture in abundance) he gave him a place by his side on the throne of Sultanate, and also summoned the Princee, his son, and introduced him to him. After they had finished their repast he granted his request for assistance, and promised him aid with such money and troops, as might enable him to reduce Badakhshān, and had apartments prepared for the *Mīrzā* in the tower of the *Hatyāpūl*.² where was the *Naqārah-khānah*.³ Of an evening he used often to go to the *ibādat-khānah*, and hold converse with the Shaikhs and sages and cultivate ecstasy, and sometimes loud shouts were heard proceeding from him: and prayer with the congregation was never neglected by him. One day, after leading in all the other prayers, I considered that I had said sufficient prayers when the *Mīrzā* objected to me that I had not recited the *Fātiḥah*.

¹ See p. 204.

² The 'Elephant Gate,' compare Blochmann's *Āin-i Akbarī*, 505.

³ A sort of gallery generally above the gate-way, where the kettle drums are beaten at certain hours.

I said: "In the time of the Prophet (God bless him, and give him peace!) the reciting of the Fātiḥah after the prayers was not customary; and some of the traditions have pronounced it to be of questionable authority." He said: "Do you mean to say then that those who read it are not in the region of knowledge, nor wise men?" I replied: "We have to do with the Written Law, not with [possible] forgeries." The Emperor after this commanded that I should recite it. I complied, although I showed him the Tradition which pronounced it as questionable.¹

At this time [the Emperor] revived an old Chaghatāi custom. For some days, in order to exhibit it to Mirzā Sulaimān, they spread royal tables in the Audience-hall. And the officers of high grade² gathered the soldiers together, and took to themselves the trouble of arranging the customary food. But when the Mirzā departed, all these [revived customs] departed too.

Khān Jahān, commandant of the Panjāb, was ordered to take with him 5,000 warlike mounted archers, and putting himself at the service of the Mirzā to go to Badakhshān, and deliver the country from Mirzā Shāh-Rūkh and hand it over to Mirzā Sulaimān and then return to Lāhōr. But as a matter of fact the aspect of affairs took a somewhat different complexion.

For meanwhile news came that Mun'im Khān, *Khān Khānān*, after making peace with Dāūd in the midst of the rainy-season, under the guidance of Fate, passed over the Ganges from Tāndah (the
217 climate of which is temperate), and made the inhabitants migrate to Gaur, and ordered that that town (which was formerly the Capital of Bengāl, and the climate of which is debilitating and foul) should be inhabited: and all that the Amīrs could say against it availed nothing:—

"O wonder! that ye had no misgivings of heart, no sadness of soul,

On account of this foul air, these noxious waters."

Various diseases, the names of which it would be difficult to know, attacked their constitutions; and every day hosts upon hosts of

¹ See above p. 212.

² *Tawūchī* see p. 74, note 5.

people, having played out their existence, bade farewell to one another; and how many thousands soever were told off for that country, it cannot be stated that a hundred ever returned to their homes:—

“What a fatal thing, O God, may a place become!”

Things came to such a pass that the living were unable to bury the dead, and throw them into the river. Every hour, and every minute, news came to the ear of the Khān Khānān of the death of Amīrs, and yet, for all that, he did not himself become infected. And, on account of the arrogance of his disposition, no one had the power to remove the cotton wool of ignorance from his ears, and make him leave the place:—

“If I give advice to my heart in love, it is taken ill.

I will leave it in her street to hit its head against the wall.”

After a time the constitution of the Khān Khānān, Mun‘im Khān, began to deviate from its usual course of equilibrium, and, at over eighty years of age, after completing the first ten days of the month Rajab¹ of the year nine hundred and eighty-three (983) he rendered his account to the Guardian of Paradise, or to the Guardian of Hell (God knows!); and all that rask and glory, and that grandeur and perfection became a mere dream and fantasy:—

“Since thou canst not place any confidence in thy life,

What matters it whether it be one, or one hundred years?

Since there is no perpetuity in life,

What matters power,² or servitude?”

218

Since he had no heirs, the officials seized all that wealth and gain (which had taken so many years to accumulate) for the imperial treasury, ‘Announce to the wealth of a miser reverse of fortune, or an heir:—

“How well has a clever speaker said,

Gold attracts gold, and treasure treasure!”

¹ The seventh month.

² Instead of *Bamān* and *Fāmāl* we must read *Farmān* and *Pāmāl*.

Then, in accordance with the well-known saying—'In a place without trees a *Palma Christī*¹ is [looked on as] a shady and fruitful tree' the Amīrs, on this principle, looked to Shāham Khān Jalāir as their leader :—

“The death of the great has made me great.”

But, when the news reached the Court, the Emperor appointed the Khān Jahān, in the room of the Khān Khānān, to the Command in Bengāl, and presented him with a gold-embroidered cloak, and vest of gold, and jewelled sword-belt, and a horse with a gilded saddle. Then whether at his own request, or for the peace of the kingdom, it was settled that Mirzā Sulaimān should go by sea on a pilgrimage to Hījāz: and having signed a draft for him of 50,000 rupees upon the imperial treasury, and given him another sum of 20,000 rupees from the local treasury of Gujrāt, the Emperor gave him leave to depart. And Qulij Khān he appointed as his escort, to see him off safely from the port of Sūrat. During this same year he reached Makkah and Al Madīnah, and by the help of God's grace and faithfulness he returned by way of 'Irāq, and was, as was right, reinstated in the sovereignty of Badakhshān :—

“Thou hast never seen that road, therefore they never showed it thee,

Else, who has ever knocked at that door, and they opened not to him.”

On his return he gave one of his daughters to Muzaffar Husain Mirzā, commandant of Qandahār, who at that time had come to Lāhōr, and had attached himself to the Court; and another daughter he gave to another man.

In this year the late² Husain Khān (for whom, of all men of superior understanding, the Author had an old and strong attachment, and the most perfectly sincere friendly relations) through infirmity
219 caused by the appearance of that stage and mark, which is the destroyer of pleasures, and the vanquisher of the warrior, after the buffeting of all those troubles, which had passed over him, through apparent madness, but real wisdom, left Kānt-u-Golab with

¹ The *Qiqāyōn* of Jonah iv. 6. For a like prov. see Talm. Babl. *Synh.* 44a.

² He was dead, when our author wrote.

a band of his friends and intimates (who, whether in the flood of fire, or in the billows of the sea, had never in any wise deserted him), and, passing through the confines of Badāūn and Sambhal, and crossing the river Ganges, arrived in the Dīnāb. Then, after plundering the *mausāsān*¹ and disaffected of that neighbourhood (who, deeming the payment of rent unnecessary, never used to return any answer to their feudal lord, so that you may guess what happened to the helpless, duped, non-plussed, dishonoured tax-collectors) he went off to the base of the northern mountains. This was a place he had all his life a hankering after, and kept it, as a mine of silver and gold in full view: continually concocting in the crucible of his guileless breast (which was large enough to contain a world) visions of golden and silver idol-temples² and bricks of gold and silver. Then, without having received any orders authorizing him to do so, he turned to Basant-pūr (an elevated and well-known place in the hill-district), and invested the place. Malik-ush-Sharaq, the tax-collector of T'hānēsar³ shut the door of the fort: and the other tax-collectors in like manner, in a fright, having run into their holes, spread a false report that he was in rebellion, and sent a petition to that effect to the Court. The Emperor enquired of Sa'id Khān Moghūl (who was a connection and very old friend of Husain Khān, and who had just come from Multān) whether this report was true; this he firmly denied. But when the Emperor asked him to give, on the part of Husain Khān, a bond in writing for the cattle and goods which Husain Khān had carried off from the agriculturists he utterly declined to do so, and all that former love and friendship changed into an affectation of being utterly unacquainted with him:—

“These deceitful friends, whom you see,
Are but flies about a sweetmeat.
Before you they are truer to you than the light,
Behind your back they are more evanescent than a shadow.”

¹ Are these the same as the “*māwīs*” Blochm., p. 252, or ought we to read *Mu'āṣiyān* rebels?

² Tho Emperor Maḥmūd had acquired immense wealth from the plunder of Hindū temples. He hoped to do the same.

³ See p. 94, note 4.

220 At last he sent Sayyid Hāshim, son of Maḥmūd Bārha, and the sons of Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad, the Judge of Amrūhah (before he dismissed him to Bakkar), with a body of the Amirs to operate against¹ him. While Ḥusain Khān was fighting in the hill-district of Basant-pūr he received a severe musket-wound under the shoulder-blade, besides losing a host of his veterans. Accordingly, without having accomplished anything, he turned back, and getting into a boat he went on the river Ganges towards Patyāli (which was the native place of his kith and kin). He got as far as Gaḍhā Maktēsar whence, as he was disabled by his wound, in accordance with their orders, they brought him to Āgrah, and deposited him in the house of Ḥādīq Muḥammad Khān (between whom and Ḥusain Khān there had existed from the beginning of the conquest of India, or rather from Qandahār-times onward, the kindest feeling, and most sincere religious sympathy) Shaikh Bināi, the physician, being sent for by the Emperor's command, came to try and heal him. But on his representing that the wound was of a frightful character the Emperor sent for Ḥakīm 'Ayn-ul-mulk. And the Author, having received the Emperor's permission, went with the physician to see him, in order to keep up my old relations with him. I found him, and while a moment, by reason of my sorrow, seemed to me like days, I composed these words of friendship, sorrowful and mingled with tears :—

“ Wherever I and the loved-one met together,
 For fear of the malevolent we bit our lips.
 Without the intervention of ear or lip, by means of heart and eye,
 Many a word was there, that we said and heard.”

Meanwhile the imperial surgeons came to operate on him. They thrust a probe into the wound to the depth of a span, and probed it mercilessly. But that man of fortitude swallowed the agony, like a
 221 sweet draught, and neither frowned, nor shewed any sign of pain, but smiled without dissimulation :—

“ My face is calm in spite of the bitter words of men,
 Poison is in my mouth, but my face is wreathed in smiles.”

¹ For *bar pisari* o ought we to read *bar sari* o ?

And that was my last sight of him until the Judgment-day, and my very last farewell of him. I heard two or three days after I arrived at Fathpūr, that his sickness had turned to a flux. He was so refined in the crucible of abstinence, that what remained of impurity in him, by reason of human nature and the infirmity of the flesh, entirely left him, and the alloy of his nature becoming pure gold, he became purified by fire for 'Trial is to the Saints what the flame is to gold':—

‘ All carnal attributes have departed from Mas‘ud Beg,
That of him which was Soul is become that very Soul again.”

And—that he might attain the full felicity of a true and regular martyrdom, in accordance with the authentic Tradition: ‘ He that is afflicted with the colic is a martyr,’ in that distress of expatriation, and grief of exile, and trouble of penury, together with the accident of a wound from Infidels received in a hostile country, and the distraction of relaxed liver, he removed his baggage from this transitory existence to the eternal Paradise: and the Bird of his Soul escaping from the Cage of this World, that prison of the Believer, at the invitation: “Return thou, O soul, unto thy Lord, well pleased and wellpleasing,” flew towards the Rose-bed, to dwell there in “rest, and in gracious favour, and a garden of delights:”²

“None ever came into the world, who remained there.
Except he, of whom a good name remained.”

Although he gave away whole worlds of gold to the deserving and the needy, yet when he took his departure to the other world [he was so poor, that] his excellence of regal qualities, exalted in degrees, and holy in his attributes, Khwājah Muḥammad Yāhyā Naqshbandī (the Spirit of God is his Spirit!) brought the expenses of his burial, and with all honour³ and respect deposited him in peace in the strangers’ burial-place at Āgrah:—

¹ Al Qur‘ān, LXXXIX, 28.

² Al Qur‘ān, LVI, 88.

³ The word in the text *ba-i-jūz* means ‘in amazement.’ But the editors have put a (?) to it, and it should, doubtless, be read *ba-i-zūz* ‘in honour,’ as the following word *ihitirām* clearly points out.

“How can I see him sleeping in the dust,
Him, who has raised me from the dust!”

Thence he was carried to the cemetery of Patyāli, which became his burial-place, and they made him like a buried treasure: and *Ganj-bakhsh*¹ ‘Bestower of treasure’ was found to give the date. And when, on my following the Mir ‘Adal² (who is now departed himself to the mercy of God) on his journey to Bakkar, I told him of the decease of this man, so rich of heart but poor in purse, he burst into tears, and began to extol his purity and ability, and said: “If any one wish to practice walking unspotted from the world, he ought to act and walk, just as Husain Khān acted and walked:”—

“I am the slave of that man, who, under the blue sky,
Is free from whatever partakes of the tinge of dependence.”

It so happened that this interview also, with the Mir, became memorable to the author: and from the expression made use of by that great man on that occasion, viz., “All my friends are departed and I know not whether I shall ever see you again,” you would have said that his star was sinking; and so it in fact was:—

“As long as in this flock there remains a single sheep,
Fate will not desist³ from the butcher-trade.”

Let it not be forgotten that the author enjoyed the society of that unique one⁴ of the age for the space of about nine years, and [but] one piece of opposition (though to use so strong a term in connection with him were a shame, and a dire injustice) did I meet with from him, and that was in military matters, and the affairs of this world. And among the many venerable persons and spiritual directors of the age, who still remain, I do not find a tithe of a tenth part of that I found in him, [who was] in the *Sumnā* section [of Islām] pure in faith, and in purity of conduct perfectly sincere

¹ There seems to be some mistake, as this only gives 975.

² His name was Sayyid Muḥammad, see p. 224 and Text, p. 220, l. 1.

³ Read *nishinad*.

⁴ Husain Khān.

and upright, in spirit without an equal, in valour peerless, in courtesy alike in his behaviour both to small and great, and in disinterestedness without an equal in the age, in detachment from worldly objects stainless, in active service untiring, in dependence on God without compare, in asceticism worthy of a hundred praises; but if he had lived in these days he would hardly have been able to have attained such a character for orthodox and sincere religion.¹ 223

At the time that he was absolute governor of Lāhōr (I have it from trustworthy people), his food consisted of barley-bread, his object being to follow the example of the Seal of the Prophets and best of Apostles² (the blessings of God be on him, and on them all!): and ever so many thousands of mosques and ancient sepulchres he repaired, restored, or rebuilt. One day it happened that a Hindū in the dress of a Muslim came into his assembly, and he with his usual genuine humility, taking him for a Muslim, stood up to greet that Hindū. When he found out the true state of the case, he felt ashamed and ordered that from that day forward all Hindūs should sew a patch of stuff of a different colour on their garments near the bottom of the sleeve, that there might be a mark to distinguish between Muslims and Kāfirs.³ For this reason he was commonly known among the people by the title of *Tukriya*, for they call a patch *tukrā*,⁴ which is another name for the Arabic word *Ghiyār* (with *kasra* under the dotted 'ain, and *ya* with two dots below,⁵

¹ This is not said in disparagement of Husain Khān, but in disgust at the innovations which Akbar introduced later on.

² I. e., Muhammad.

³ Unbelievers, i. e., non-Muslims. This is the origin of the name Kāfir, which was applied by the Muslims of Africa to the other inhabitants.

⁴ Sanskrit *stoka* 'a piece,' whence the Hindī *tukrā* (with cerebral *t*) 'a patch.'

⁵ A distinguishing badge, that which makes a person *ghair* (different) from others.

so that it is of the form of the word *diyār*¹). On another occasion he ordered that the Kāfirs, in accordance with the requirements of the Holy Law, should not ride on saddles, but should sit on a pack-saddle. When on a journey, out of deference to the Sayyids, and men of learning and excellence (who used to attend him, and to greet whom he, when seated, used always to rise), he would never use a four-post bedstead: nor would he voluntarily omit saying the Prayers in the night any more than the Friday prayers in the mosque. And, although he had a *jāgīr* worth *lacs* and *krors*, he never had more than one horse with him, and even that he would sometimes give away to meet some expense, or for some worthy object, and so whether on a journey or at home would be content to go afoot, until one of his friends, or of his servants, brought him another. And a poet in a *qaṣīdah* said:—

“The Khān is bankrupt, and the slave is wealthy.”

He had taken an oath that he would never amass treasure, and whenever gold was brought before him he would say: “You would
224 say that it is an arrow or a javelin that pierces my side” and he was never at ease until he had given it away. And some times it would be observed that, when the Government had assigned some fifteen to thirty or forty thousand rupees on the *pargana*,² he, regardless of this, would sign orders for the soldiers and for other expenses also, so that both³ would get an equal share. He also had a vow that every slave who came into his possession should have the first day to himself. He never had anything to do with any women except his three legally married wives. He looked on nuts as a sort of intoxicating food, and as therefore forbidden by the religion. One day the Shaikh-ul-hidyah of Khairābād (who was one of the leading Shaikhs on the high way of direction and guidance of posterity) being exercised at the Khān’s voluntary poverty, and expenditure, and squandering of property, and unnecessary presents, and extreme extravagance in the distribution of pensions and grants,⁴

¹ A tract of country.

² Viz., to keep up the required number of soldiers.

³ Military and non-military expenses.

⁴ Instead of *illīfūq* read *augūf*. Compare p. 22, note 4.

endeavoured to urge him to a change in those habits. But this advice was not in harmony with his disposition, so becoming angry he said: "It is simply a question between obeying your order in the matter, and following the tradition of the Prophet; what choice can there be? On the other hand we expect from such as you religious guides, that if there be any root of avarice or desire for the things of the world in us, you should show us the way by which we may eradicate and cut off such a matter; and not that you should be the ones to lend a false glitter to the accessories of transient trifle, and should make us avaricious, so as to sink among the lowest of the low in the unworthy pursuit of greed and avarice:—

"Wealth never remains in the hand of the free,

Nor patience in the heart of a lover, nor water in a sieve."

Although the author was never with him on any serious battle-fields, still I was his companion in many jungle-warfares, and comfortable journeys. And I observed in him a resolution and a courage, such as perhaps those renowned heroes, who have left their names emblazoned on the pages of history, may have possessed; and not to mention his immense physical strength and prowess—they might 225 have boasted of the same courage as that lion-like warrior. And in the day of battle the *Fātiḥah*¹ which he read was to this effect: "Either martyrdom or victory."² And whenever people told him that he ought to put victory before martyrdom, he used to say: "My desire is rather to see the glorious departed, than the lords who remain alive." And such was his liberality, that if by any possible supposition the treasures of the world and the Sultanate of the whole face of the earth could have become accessible to him, and have been delivered over to him, the very first day he would have become a borrower. And this *qil'ah* became true in his day:—

¹ The first Surah of the Qur'ān. The expression 'reading the *Fātiḥah*' is used figuratively of entering upon an undertaking. Compare the expression 'reading the verse of flight' on p. 48, note 1.

² *Fatih*.

227 of a parrot, made me the Reader of the Prayers on Wednesday evenings, and entered me among the seven Imāms.¹ And the duty of summoning the congregation on that day and night he committed to Khwājah Doulat Nāzir Ghaif Shadid (a eunuch, neither man, nor woman), and appointed him to look after me that I should be present at the five hours of prayer.²

At this time Khwājah Amīn-ud-dīn Maḥmūd (known as Khwājah Amīnā) passed from the world, and the abundant wealth which he left behind came into the royal treasury.

On the 17th of the month Zī-Qadah³ of this year, the Emperor's journey to Ajmīr took place, and when one stage distant he, according to his usual custom on such occasions, went on foot on a pilgrimage to the Sacred Sepulchre. On the 9th of this month the Sun entered Aries:—

“The Workman, the Sun, when he begins anew his work,
His entrance into Aries makes glorious the rising Morn.”

This was the commencement of the twenty-second year from the accession. At this time news arrived, that after the death of Mun'im Khān, *Khān Khānān*, the Amīrs being unable any longer to withstand the attacks of Dāūd, had retired on Hājipūr and Patnah from Gaur and Tāndah, and that Khān Jahān, because his army was still at Lāhōr, was advancing but slowly. Accordingly the Emperor wrote a *farmān*,⁴ entrusted it to Turk Subhān Qulī to bear to Khān Jahān, ordering him to hasten up as quickly as possible. And Subhān Qulī performed his mission, covering a distance of nearly a thousand cosses in twenty-two days. At the same time news came to Ajmīr, that Khān Jahān, on arriving at Garhi, had fought an obstinate battle with the Afghāns of Dāūd, and had defeated them with some 1500 killed or taken prisoners, and was still advancing.

During the first part of the blessed month Muḥarram⁴ of the year nine hundred and eighty-four (984) the Emperor

¹ The Emperor had seven Imāms, or private Chaplains, one for each day of the week.

² The five hours of prayer are: Before dawn, midday, afternoon, after sunset, bedtime.

³ The eleventh month.

⁴ The first month.

introduced Mān Singh, son of Bhagvan Dās, into the burial place of the saint Mu'in (may its occupants attain a happy resurrection!) and treating him with kindness, and showing him the greatest favour, presented him with a robe of honour, and a horse with all its 228 appointments, and ordered him to proceed to the hostile district of Kokanda and Kombalmir,¹ which was a dependency belonging to Rānā Kika. And 5,000 regular troopers, partly from his own body-guard, and partly belonging to the Amīrs who were in command,² he appointed and dispatched as his force. And he sent with him Āḡaf Khān *Mir-bakhshī*, and Ghāzī Khān Badakhshī, and Shāhī (Ghāzī Khān Tabrizī, and Mujaḥhid Khān, and Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, and Sayyid Ḥashim Bārha, and Mihtar Khān a servant of the Family, and other Amīrs. And when the author, in the train of Qāzī Khān and Āḡaf Khān, arrived at about three *cosses* from Ajmīr, and ardour for fighting against the infidels kindled in my breast, I returned and represented the state of the case to the High Ḥadr, Shaikh 'Abd-un-Nabī. *Shaikh-ul-Islām*, and made interest with him to obtain leave of absence from the Emperor. Although he granted my request he left the presentation of the petition to his Wakīl, Sayyid 'Abd-ur-Rasūl, a meddlesome sort of a fellow. And, when I found that the matter hung fire far too long, I sought the intervention of Naqīb Khān (with whom I was on brotherly terms). At first he made objections, and said: "If a Hindū had not been the leader of this army, I should myself have been the first to have asked permission to join it." But I represented strongly to the said Khān, that I looked on any true servant of the Emperor as a fit leader for myself, and what did it matter, whether it were Mān Singh, or another? And that the purity of intention was what one should look to. Then Naqīb Khān took the opportunity, when the Emperor was going in high state to visit the shrine of that Diffuser of Light,⁴ to present my petition. At first the Emperor said: "Why he has just been appointed one of the Court-Imāms, how can he go?" Naqīb

¹ Near Udaipūr in Rajpūtāna.

² We propose to read *Nāibūn*, instead of *Nāibinām* 'sightless.'

³ Paymaster of the Court. Ām-ī Akbarī, Blochm. p. vi. He had been appointed *vice* Qāzī 'Alī. *Ibid.* p. 411.

⁴ Shaikh Mu'in-ud-dīn Chishtī.

an eye-witness of this accident, and did not know what to do. Meanwhile Qutb-ud-din Muhammad Atgah seized the rein of his Majesty's horse, and said: "My Lord, what are you doing here? go away." And so he turned his rein towards the palace. Then he sent *farmāns* with assurances of the soundness of his health and strength to the Amirs of the frontiers, so that the panic was stayed. Of the number of these *farmāns* one arrived at Kokandah, addressed to Mān Singh, and Āṣaf Khān, with the contents aforesaid. And so that grief of ours was changed into rejoicing.

During the first part of the month Rabi'ul-awwal of the year nine hundred and eighty-four (984) took place the victory of Kokandah. And the following is a succinct account of it. When Mān Singh and Āṣaf Khān with the army of Ajmir, on their way to Mandalgarh, arrived by forced marches at the town of Darah, seven cosses from Kokandah, the Rānā came out to oppose them. Then Mān Singh mounted an elephant, and with a number of the imperial horsemen, such as Khwājah Muhammad Rafi Badakhshi, and Shihāb-
 231 ud-din Guroh-pāyandah Quzāq, and 'Alī Murād Uzbek, and Rājah Loun Karan, commandant of Sāmbhar, and other Rājapūts in the centre, and a body of renowned youths took his place in the advance-body. And some eighty or more picked men of these were sent, with Sayyid Hāshim Bārha,¹ as skirmishers in front of the advance-body (and such are called the 'chickens of the front line'). And Sayyid Aḥmad Khān Bārha with a body of others² had the right-wing, and Qāzī Khān with a body of sons of Shaikhs of Sīkrī, relatives of Shaikh Ibrāhīm Chishtī, had the left-wing. And Mihtar Khān was in the rear. And Rānā Kikā advancing from behind Darah with a force of 3,000 horse, divided his men into two divisions. One division, of which Ḥakīm Sūr Afghān was the leader, came straight from the direction of the mountains, and attacked our advance-body. And on account of the broken and uneven state of the ground, and the quantity of thorns, and the serpentine twistings of the road, the skirmishers and the advance-body of our troops

¹ Compare Text, p. 220, l. 1. This, of course, means 'of Bārha.' For the use of names of places in this manner compare my *Memor book of Neurnberg*, p. 21, under *Heubach*.

² "Others" means "other Sayyids."

thumb, being no longer able to hold his own, he recited [the saying] 'Flight from overwhelming odds is one of the Traditions of the Prophet,' and followed his men [in their retreat]. Those of the army who had fled on the first attack, did not draw rein till they had passed five or six *cosses* beyond the river. In the midst of all this confusion Mihtar Khān hastening up from the rear with his reserves, and beating his kettle-drums, called on the imperial troops to rally. And this shout of his was to a great extent the cause of the fugitives taking heart again, and making a stand. And Rājah Rāneshāh of Gwālyār (grandson of the famous Rājah Mān), who always kept in front of the Rānā, performed such prodigies of valour against the Rājputs of Mān Singh, as baffle description. And these [Rājputs of Mān Singh] were those who, on the left of the advance-body, fled, and thereby caused also the flight of Ācaf Khān,¹ and then took refuge with the Sayyids who were on the right; and, if the Sayyids had not held their ground firmly, such confusion did the retreating advance body cause in their ranks, that the affair would have turned out a disgraceful defeat. And with regard to the elephants, when they made a charge on the elephants of the Imperial army, two strong must-elephants singled each other out and fought together. And Husain Khān, leader of the elephants, who was riding on an elephant behind Mān Singh, also joined in the fight. And Mān Singh, springing into the place of the elephant-driver, exhibited such intrepidity as surpasses all imagination. And one of these two elephants, which was a private one of the Emperor's fought furiously with the Rānā's elephant (which was named Rām Parshād, and was of exceedingly strong build), and the two kept charging at one another, until by chance an arrow reached a mortal place in the driver of the Rānā's elephant, so that the shock of the charge threw him to the ground. Then the driver of the imperial elephant, with the greatest quickness and address, leapt from his own elephant, and took his seat on that of the Rānā, and performed such a deed as none other could have done. On seeing this circumstance the Rānā could no longer hold his ground, but left the ranks and fled, and confusion fell on the army of the Rānā. Then the young heroes, who acted as the body-guard of Mān Singh, performed such exploits

¹ And of our worthy Author, no doubt, with him.

as were a perfect model; and that day through the generalship of Mān Singh the meaning of this line of Mullā Shīrī became known:

“A Hindū wields the sword of Islām.”

And the son of Jaimal of Chitōr, and Rām Shāh Rājah of Gwālyār with his own son Sālabāhan, who showed extreme obstinacy of resistance, went to hell; and of the clan of the Rājput̃s there was not left one fit to be his successor—Good riddance of bad rubbish! And showers of arrows were poured on the Rānā, who was opposed to Mādhar Singh. And Hakīm Sūr,² who had fled before the Sayyids, retreated on the Rānā, and so the two divisions became one. Then the Rānā turned and fled, and betook himself to the high mountains, whither he had retreated after the conquest of Chitōr, and there sought to shut himself up as in a fortress. And though it was so extremely hot, being during the forty midsummer-days, so that the very brain boiled in the cranium, they fought from early morning till midday. Nearly five hundred men were slain, and fell on the field of battle, of which number one hundred and twenty were of the people of Islām, and the rest Hindūs.³ And the number of the champions of Islām, who were wounded, 234 exceeded three hundred. And when the air was like a furnace, and no power of movement was left in the soldiers, the idea became prevalent, that the Rānā, by stealth and stratagem, must have kept himself concealed behind the mountains. This was the reason why they made no pursuit, but retired to their tents and occupied themselves in the relief of the wounded. And the following was found to give the date:—

‘And victory from God appeared nigh.’⁴

The next day the army marched thence, and having looked over the battle-field to see how each had behaved, leaving Darah,⁵ came to Kokandah.⁶ And certain of the devoted servants of the Rānā, who were the guardians of his palace, and some of the inhabitants of the

¹ Lit. ‘The base are diminished, and the world becomes pure.’ A proverb. see Roebuck, p. 21.

² Leader of that division of the Rānā’s army, which first attacked the advance-body and right wing of Mān Sing’s troops.

³ It must not be forgotten, that there were Hindūs fighting on both sides.

⁴ The sum of the letters = 984.

⁵ See p. 236.

⁶ In our text the name is always *Kokandah*, but Blochm. calls it *Gogandah*.

temples, in all amounting to twenty persons, in accordance with an ancient custom¹ of the Hindūs, that, when they are compelled to evacuate a city, they should be killed in order to save their honour, coming out of their houses and temples performed the sacrificial rite, and by the stroke of their life-taking swords committed their souls to the keepers of hell. The Amīrs, as security against a night-attack on the part of the Rānā, barricaded the streets, and drew a trench, and a wall of such a height that horsemen could not leap over it, round the city of Kokandah, and then settled down quietly. And they had a list drawn up containing the names of all the slain, and the horses killed in the action, intending to enclose it with the dispatch to the Emperor. Sayyid Aḥmad Khān Bārha said, 'There has been no person, or horse, of ours killed, whose name you will have to report to the imperial government, so what is the good of writing them down? It is more important at the present moment to look after the Commissariat.'² Then, since there was in that mountain district but little arable land, and so but a scanty amount of corn was produced, and moreover the Banjārās³ did not come.

¹ It was a very common custom among the Rājapūts.

It has been equally common among the Jews, see translator's *Memor book of Nuernberg*, p. 9. *Ḥarakat-al-mazbūḥi kardān* seems to be the Moslem equivalent to the Jewish 'saying of the Benediction' used when slaughtering animals for Jewish food. (*Ibid.*).

² He was evidently a man of action, and no friend to red-tapeism.

³ The trade of corn in India is carried on in a mode peculiar to that country. The merchants in corn are a particular caste denoted by the term *Brinjarries*. They traverse the country, conveying the grain, often from the greatest distances, in large bodies which resemble the march of an army. They encamp with regularity, never lodging in houses; are strongly armed; and ready to fight no contemptible battle in their own defence. The practice comes down from a remote antiquity; and marks that unsettled and barbarous state of society, when merchants are obliged to depend upon themselves for the means of their defence. The experienced utility of their services has procured them considerable privileges. They are regarded as neutral in all wars; they enjoy a right of transit through all countries; and the armies, which spare nothing else, act under a special obligation, seldom violated, of respecting the property of the Brinjarries (Mill and Wilson, *Hist. of British India*, V, p. 395). The name is *Banjārah* but also pronounced *Brinjarah* in India. It is derived from the Sanskrit *Banij* 'a merchant,' and not from the Pers. *Birinj* 'rice.' (Elliot, *The Races of the Provinces of India*, I. p. 52).

so that the army at that time was suffering from great scarcity, they set their wits to work to tackle the difficulty. Accordingly from time to time they singled out one of the Amīrs in command, and commissioned him to bring corn into the lines, and wherever in the high hills and mountains they found many people congregated together, 235 they broke them up and took them prisoners. And one had to sustain life upon the flesh of animals, and the mango-fruit. This latter grew there in such abundance as defies description. The common soldiers used to make a meal on it, fasting, in default of bread, and from its extreme juiciness very many of them became ill. The mango-fruit was actually produced in that country of the weight of a *sēr akbarī*¹ but for sweetness and flavour they are not up to much.

At this time Maḥmūd Khān, a special hanger-on of the Court, arrived from Court charged with an order to hasten to Kokandah. He examined the state of the battle-field.² The next day he went away, and reported from what he had heard how every one had conducted himself to the Emperor. His Majesty was graciously pleased to be satisfied on the whole; only he was vexed at their having abandoned the pursuit of the Rānā, and so allowing him to remain alive. Then the Amīrs wished to send to the Emperor the elephant, named Rām-parsād,³ which had come into their hands with the spoil, (and which His Imperial Highness had several times demanded⁴ of the Rānā, and he, unfortunately for him, had declined to surrender it) and together with it, the report of the victory to Court. Āḡaf Khān mentioned the name of the Author, as a proper person to be sent with it, since he had been allowed to join the army merely to acquire religious merit and for the love of God. Mān Singh answered [jocosely]: 'There is a great deal

¹ A *sēr* contained 28 *dāms* at the commencement of the reign of Akbar, and was fixed by him at 30. It is about 2lbs. avoird.

² Similarly Napoleon used to go over the battle after a victory to criticise the doings of his troops.

³ See p. 243 note 2.

⁴ See p. 235 note 1.

239 And on the sixth of the month Rajab,¹ which is the anniversary of the decease of Ḥazrat Khwājah² (may God sanctify his glorious tomb!) the Emperor arrived at Ajmīr. And Sulṭān Khwājah, son of Khwājah Khāwand Maḥmūd³ he appointed Mīr Hāṭī,⁴ and sent a sum of six lacs of rupees, in money and goods, to be distributed among the deserving people of Makkah and Madīnah, and for building a *Khānah*⁵ in the sacred precincts. When the Emperor dismissed Sulṭān Khwājah on his road to the two Sacred Cities, he himself, with bare head and feet, and dressed in the *Iḥrām*, and in every respect clothed like a pilgrim, and having shorn his head a little, went a little distance in his train. At this a cry broke forth from the multitude,⁶ and he showed himself moved by their devotion. And Qutb-ud-dīn Muḥammad Khān and Qulij Khān, and Āḥaf Khān were appointed to escort Sulṭān Khwājah, with orders that they should part from the caravan at Kokandah, and should scour the country of the Rānā,⁷ and following his track wherever they should hear news of him, should bring destruction on him.

And contemporaneously with these events news arrived, that Shāh Ṭahmāsp had passed from the world,⁸ and that Shāh Ismā'il II had succeeded him. And they found this *mnemosynon* for the date:—

“It is the beginning of *Reign* and *Victory*, and *Conquest*.”⁹

And the Emperor made a general order, that any one who wished might go on a pilgrimage, and that his expenses should be paid from the Treasury. And a great number of persons attained that felicity. But the reverse is now the case, for he cannot now bear even the name of such a thing, and merely to ask leave to go on a pilgrimage is enough to make a man a malefactor worthy of death: “We alternate these days among men.”¹⁰

¹ The seventh month.

² Mu'in-ud-dīn Chishtī Sigizī of Ajmīr.

³ Dost. Blochmann.

⁴ Leader of the pilgrims.

⁵ See Burton's *Meccah and El-Medinah*, III.

⁶ They were afraid that he was about to become a devotee.

⁷ Rānū Kikū, see above.

⁸ Shāh of Persia, see above.

⁹ The first letters of these words give $4 + 80 + 900 = 984$.

¹⁰ Al Qur'ān III. 134.

And at this time, when news arrived of the distressed state of the army at Kokandah, the Emperor sent for Mān Singh, Āṣaf Khān and Qāzi Khān, to come alone from that place, and on account of certain faults which they had committed, he excluded Mān Singh and Āṣaf Khān (who were associated in treachery¹) for some time from the Court; while on the contrary Ghāzi Khān Badakhshī, and Mihtar Khān, and Ali Murād Uzbek, Khanjari Tnrk, and one or two others, of whom I was of the number, were distinguished from these 240 men, and were honoured with presents and promotion in rank. But all the rest, though they fell from the position of confidence, were dismissed without punishment.

On the 19th of this month the Emperor marched towards the country of the Rānā, who was pillaging in the mountain district of Oudipūr, Khānpūr &c.

At this time Khwājah Shāh Maṇṣūr, a Shīrāzī clerk, who at the beginning of his career had been for some time clerk in the perfumery department, and had been obliged to flee on account of the hostility and power of Muzaffar Khān, came to Mun'im Khān at Jounpūr and was received with the greatest respect, and appointed to be his *divān*. And after the death of Mun'im Khān he came to Court in accordance with an imperial firmān, and on account of his exceedingly fine business qualities and soundness of judgment, he became *divān* of the whole empire, and by degrees became associated in imperial affairs with the prosperous Rājah²:—

“He is an incapable who does not rise to power,

For at all events Destiny is on the look out for a capable man;”

But some one has just reversed the statement and said:—

“The incapables of the world have risen to power,

How then can Destiny be on the look out for a capable man?”

¹ The *Tārīkh-i Nizāmī* says that what displeased the Emperor was, that they would not suffer any plundering of the Rānā's country, and that it was this that caused the distress of the army. Elliot v. 401.

² Todar Mal (see Blochm., p. 430.)

In the month of Ziḥijjah¹ of this year took place the New Year's day of the 23rd year from the Accession. He celebrated that festival in the castle of Dibālpūr one of the dependencies of Mālwah.

The compiler of this Compendium had on account of a severe sickness remained at Basāwar.² He now asked leave to proceed to the camp by way of Bānswālah. At Hindūn³ Sayyid 'Abd-ullāh Khān consented, but representing that the road was blocked up and full of difficulties, he caused me to return and brought me to Bajannah. And after some days on account of my anxiety to perform my duty as one of the Imperial Imāms, I went in company 243 with Razawī Khān by way of Gwālyār and Sārangpūr, and Ujāyn, and on the 12th of Ziḥijjah paid my respects to the Emperor in the confines of Dibālpūr belonging to Mālwah. Then I presented to the Emperor a valuable pocket-Qur'ān, and a note-book of marvellous and rare sermons by Ḥāfiz Muḥammad Amīn, a preacher of Qandahār; such a sweet-voiced preacher as whom had never been seen by any one in this generation. This Qur'ān and note-book had been carried off by some thieves from a certain halting-place a considerable distance from Basāwar, and Sayyid 'Abd-ullāh Khān had gone in pursuit and had handed over the things to me. When I brought them into his presence, the Emperor evinced great pleasure, and calling Ḥāfiz Muḥammad Amīn he said to him in joke: "They have brought me a pocket-Qur'ān from somewhere or other, I make it a present to you." Ḥāfiz recognizing it, was extremely delighted, and making profuse and boundless bows and prostrations by way of thanks, said: Your Majesty the very same day said to Sayyid 'Abd-ullāh Khān, "If God will, you will find it, it can't be really lost." When the Emperor enquired of the author the circumstances of its discovery, I replied: "A company of labourers, who in some of the villages of Basāwar are occupied in digging wells and tanks &c., and who under pretext of this occupation do a little in highway robbery had stolen these articles. But one of them, having had a difference with his companions brought word to Sayyid 'Abd-ullāh

¹ The last month of the Muhammadan year.

² Lak'hnaū Lithograph gives *Pashāwar*.

³ That edition reads *Hindūn* not *Hindūn*.

Khān, so that he was able to seize them all, and so they confessed the thefts they had committed." Then the Emperor said to Hāfiz: "If God will, the rest of the articles will also be found, so be of good cheer!" To this he replied: "I have attained my wish in the recovery of my Qur'ān and note-book, which I received as an inheritance from my father and grandfather, and I cannot compose sermons myself. For the other things I don't care much." And eventually on the return from that journey those articles were 244 all found among the things taken from the countrymen, as the Emperor had said would be the case, and Sayyid 'Abd-ullāh Khān brought them into the Imperial presence at Fathpūr. While at Dībālpūr I was reinstated in my office of Imām, and Khwājah Daulat Nāzīr had to keep me up to the mark, and in the old way one day and night out of the seven used to make me mount the pulpit, and the proverb became fulfilled: "Little Ahmad will not go to school, so they carry him":—

"Either thou goest, or otherwise they will carry thee, there is no choice."

And on account of anxiety for the affairs of that kingdom, the Emperor remained some days at Dībālpūr. And some of the great Amīrs, such as Shihāb-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān he sent, with the *jāgīr-dārs* of Mālwah, against Rājah 'Alī Khān in the direction of Asīr and Burhānpūr, to subdue that district. And Shāhbāz Khān, *Bakhshī*, was to see to the branding of the horses and the mustering of that army. At that station Rājah Todar Mal, together with I'timād Khān of Gujrāt, was appointed to look into revenues of the country of Gujrāt, and into the stores of that kingdom.

At this time news came of the defeat of Rājah Narāin Dās, and the taking of Idar. The particulars are as follows: When Qulij Khān, through the efforts of 'Alī Murād Uzbek, who had been sent to fetch him, had left Idar and returned to Court, and Āḥaf Khān¹ had been appointed to the command, the Rājah of Idar, who had become an outcast and wanderer, had with the assistance of Rānā Kikā and other *zamīndārs* collected an army and advanced to within 10 *cosse*s of the station of Idar, intending to make a night attack.

¹ See above, p. 249.

Then Āṣaf Khān and Mirzā Muḥammad Muqīm and Timūr Badakhshī, and Mir Abu-l-ghays Bokhārī, and Mir Muḥammad Ma'qūm 245 Bakrī, &c., agreed that it would be the best plan, leaving about 500 horse to guard the station, themselves to make a night attack on the enemy, and so anticipate him in his plans. Accordingly just at daybreak on the 4th of Zilhijjah, in the year nine hundred and eighty-four (984), when they had proceeded 7 *cosces*, Rājah Narāin Dās met them coming in the opposite direction armed *cap-à-pie*, and immediately attacked them, and arrows and swords and javelins began flying in the air. And Mirzā Muḥammad Muqīm, who was in the van in advance of every one, in drinking the draught of martyrdom still showed his superiority. Defeat fell on the infidels, and they fled to a man and skulked like foxes in their holes. When the dispatch of Āṣaf Khān arrived, a firmān of commendation was issued to the officers of that army.

In this year Mir Sayyid Muḥammad Mir 'Adal, who had been appointed to the government of Bakkar, sent Sayyid Abu-l-Fazl and his other sons against Sabwī (?), and they reduced that fortress in a short space of time. And Mir Sayyid Abul Qāsim son of Mir Sayyid Qafālī (who is one of the most important personages of Bhakkar and had come to do homage at Court) was raised to the rank of a body-guardsmen. And this line gives the date:—

“To the sons of the Prophet¹ belongs the taking of Sabwī.”

And in this year the Mir 'Adal² departed this life, and the date is given by the following:—*Sayyid-i-Fāzil*³—May God deal with him according to excellence (*fazal*)!

Among the events of this time was the arrival of Sharif of Āmul, and his interview with the Emperor while he was at Dībālpūr. The 246 sum of the matter is as follows: This reprobate apostate had run from country to country, like a dog that has burnt its foot, and turning from one sect to another, he went on wrangling until he became a perfect heretic. For some time he studied after the

¹ The brothers were Sayyids, i. e., descendants of the Prophet.

² The father of the above-mentioned ‘sons of the Prophet.’

³ These words mean “Excellent Sayyid,” and give 985, which is one too much. But, if we take *fazal* instead of *fāzil*, the date is 984.

vain fashion of Qūtism, which is void of all -sophy, in the school of Maulana Muhammad Zāhid of Balkh (nephew of the great Shaikh Husein of Khwārizm (God sanctify his tomb!)), and had lived with darvishes. But as he had little of the darvish in him he set on foot abundance of vain talk and senseless effrontery, and blurted it out, so that they expelled him. The Maulāna wrote a poem against him in which the following verse occurs:—

‘There was a heretic, and Sharif was his name,

Perfect he thought himself, not perfect all the same.”

In his wanderings he came to the Dak'hin, where from his want of self-restraint he betrayed the filthiness of his disposition, and the rulers of the Dak'hin wished to cleanse the tablet of existence of his image, but eventually he was only set on a donkey and shown about the city in disgrace. But since Hindustān is a wide place where there is an open field for all licentiousness, and no one interferes with another's business, so that every one can do just as he pleases, at this time he made his way to Malwah, and settled at a place five *cosses* distant from the Imperial camp. Every foolish and frivolous word that proceeded out of his mouth instead of being wholesome food was the poison of asps and became the absorbing topic of general conversation. Many persons like brute beasts, especially the heretics of 'Irāq (who separated themselves from the Truth of the Faith, like a hair from the dough, 'Nabatheans'¹ exactly describes them, and they are destined to be the foremost worshippers of Antichrist²) gathered round him, and at his orders spread abroad the report that he was the Restorer promised for the tenth century. The sensation was immense. As soon as His Majesty heard of him he invited him one night to a private audience in a long prayer-247 room, which was made of cloth, and in which the Emperor with his suite used to say the five daily prayers at the stated hours. Ridiculous in his exterior, ngly in shape, with his neck stooping forward, he performed his obeisance, and then stood still with his

¹ The 'Nabatheans' are the 'Beotians' of the Arabs. "Ces gens sont fort grossiers. C'est pourquoi ils passent ordinairement parmi les Arabes pour des idiots et des ignorants." D'Herbelot.

² See p. 39t, Text.

arms crossed, you could scarcely see how his blue eye (which colour is said to be a sign of hostility to the Prophet—peace be upon him!) shed lies, falsehood, and hypocrisy. There he stood for a long time, and when he got the order to sit down, he prostrated himself as in worship, and then sat down *duzānū*,¹ like an Indian camel. And there he held *tête à tête* with the Emperor, and discussed various questions. No one except the *Hakīm-ul-mulk*² was allowed to be present with them, but every now and then from a distance, when he raised his voice, I could catch the word '*ilm* [knowledge]. He chewed the cud of a host of foolish stories, and called them "the Truth of Truths," and 'the Foundation of Fundamentals' :—

“A race both outwardly, and inwardly ignorant
Through ignorance is lost in folly.
They are immersed in heresy and call it Truth!
There is no power or might except in God!”

The whole talk of the man was a mere repetition of the ideas of Maḥmūd of Basakhwān, who lived in the time of Timūr the Lōrd of Conjunction, at Basakhwān, which is the name of a village in the neighbourhood of Gilān. Maḥmūd had written thirteen treatises of dirty filth, full of such droppings of heresy as no religion or sect would suffer, and containing nothing but deceitful flattery, which he called 'science of expressed and implied language.'³ The chief work of this miserable wretch is entitled *Bahr u Kūzah*,⁴ containing such loathsome nonsense, that when the ear eats thereof it turns sick. How the devil would have laughed in his sleeve, had he heard it, and what capers he would have cut! And this gross fellow Sharīf had also written a regular conflict of absurdities, which he named "First glimpses of the Truth," in which he blindly fol-
248 lows Mir 'Abd-ul-awwal. This book is written in loose, deceptive

¹ Kneeling and sitting on the heels, with the hands resting on the knees.

² Shams-ud-dīn, of Gilān on the Caspian. Blochm. p. 542.

³ So Blochmann (P. 177) renders the words '*ilm-i-laḥz-u ḥāl*. Our "letter and spirit" (?).

⁴ 'The Ocean and the Jug,' i. e., God and the Soul, the Finite trying to reach the Infinite.

aphorisms, each beginning with the word *mājarmūdand*:¹ it is a regular poser, and a mass of ridiculous silly nonsense. But in spite of this folly, in accordance with the saying: 'Verily God the King brings people to people,' he so carried things before him, and knew so well how to turn to his own account the spirit of the age and mankind, that he is now a Commander of One Thousand, and one of the apostles of His Majesty's religion in Bengāl, possessor of the four² degrees of Faith, and in his turn summoning faithful disciples to these degrees. An account of these degrees will be given later on:—

"Regard not the reprobation or approval of the common people.
For their business is always either to bray or to purr.
Common people believe in a Cow³ as a God,
And do not believe in Noah as a prophet."

We make our complaint unto God on account of the world: if ever it does good, it immediately repents; and if it does evil, it goes on in its evil course. The following just suits his case:—

"I was last year a star of the lowest dimension,
This year I am the Pole-star of religion.
If I last out another year,
I shall be the Pole-star of the religion of 'Ali.'"

And when the Emperor had satisfactorily settled the affairs of that district, he started thence by successive stages by way of Rintambhor, and hunting as he went along arrived on the 23rd of Çafir of the year nine hundred and eighty five (985) at Faṭhpūr. And Shaikh Faizī, who now enjoys the title of the King of Poets, wrote an ode, of which the opening lines are:

"The breeze that cheers the heart comes from Faṭhpūr,
For my king returns from a distant journey."

¹ I. e., 'The master said.' comp. the Hebr. Midrash *Yelammedēnu* 'he used to teach us.'

² Akbar said that perfect devotedness consisted in the readiness to sacrifice four things, Life, Property, Religion, Honour.

³ Al Qur'ān II, where "Cow" is used for the "Calf" of Exodus.

Two or three months later news arrived of the troubles in Gujrāt, 249 the origin of which was as follows. When Rājah Todar Mal went in the afore-mentioned capacity¹ to Gujrāt, Muzaffar Husain, son of Ibrāhīm Husain Mirzā, who was daughter's son to Kāmān Mirzā came from the country of the Dak'hin. At the time of the siege of Sūrat his mother Gulrukh Bēgum had carried him off thither, from there, at the age of fifteen or sixteen years. At the instigations of a scoundrel named Mihr 'Alī, one of the old retainers of Mirzā Ibrāhīm Husain, he gathered ~~together~~ a number of vagabonds and raised an insurrection in Gujrāt. Then Bāz Bahādūr, son of Sharif Muḥammad Khān Atgah, and Bābā Bēg *Dīvān* of Gujrāt, marched against Muzaffar Husain Mirzā, attacked him in the *parganna* of Patlād, and were defeated. Then the Mirzā went off to Cambay with some 2,000 or 3,000 horse. And Wazīr Khān, governor of Gujrāt, although he had a force of 3,000 horse, on account of the dissatisfaction among his troops, who were by no means to be relied on, determined to shut himself up in the fort, and wrote a statement of affairs to Rājah Todar Mal, who was at Patan. Then the Rājah marched towards Aḥmadābād, upon which the Mirzā decamped from outside Aḥmadābād² and retired on Dūlaka. Wazīr Khān and the Rājah pursued him, and a fierce battle took place in that neighbourhood, and defeat fell on the enemy, who retired to Jūnāgarh. At this juncture the Rājah returned suddenly to Fathpūr. Then Muzaffar Husain returned from Jūnāgarh, and besieged Wazīr Khān (who for the aforementioned reason had, rather than risk an engagement, again shut himself up in the fortress) at Aḥmadābād. He placed ladders against the walls of the castle, and endeavoured to take it by assault: in fact he had almost carried the fort, when suddenly a bullet reached the breast of Mihr 'Alī, who was the Mirzā's absolute vicegerent, and the casket of his secrets, and brought him into a casket indeed:—

“Death comes unexpectedly,
And the grave is a casket indeed.”

¹ See above p. 251.

² He had gone thither after remaining two or three days at Cambay. *Taba-*
qat-i-Husaini.

As soon as the Mirzā became aware of this catastrophe he took to flight, and went towards Sultānpūr and Nadarbār.

250

The renowned Amīrs who, under the leadership of Shihāb-ud-dīn Aḥmad Khān, had been appointed against Rājah 'Alī Khān, and had driven him into the fortress, and keeping him closely besieged had ravaged the country, were very near taking the fortress. Meanwhile Qutb-ud-dīn Muḥammad Khān became disaffected, and separating himself from the Amīrs went towards Bahroḥ and Barodah, where he held a *jāgīr*, and which through the Mirzā¹ had been thrown into the direst confusion. The financial affairs of Asīr and Burhānpūr had become so completely embarrassed, that the Amīrs had to content themselves with receiving from Rājah 'Alī Khān so much tribute as he was then in a position to pay, and sent it to Court, and themselves returned to their *jāgīrs*.

At this time Ḥakīm 'Ain-ul-mulk Shīrāzī, who in the year nine hundred and eighty-three had gone on an embassy in company with the *naẓīr* of 'Ādil Khān ruler of the Dak'hin,² returned and presented the elephants and other valuable presents of 'Ādil Khān to the Emperor: and after the superseding of Deb Chand, Rājah of Majholl, in the military command of Bāns Bareh, Ḥakīm 'Ain-ul-mulk was appointed to the command in the skirts of the mountain district. From that place he wrote a report consisting of ever so many sections. In one of them he said: "Since I am separated from the Court, and in this desolate wilderness I have not a single individual of my friends for a companion, if a certain Rājah who is well acquainted with the good and evil of this district, and the whole conduct of its affairs should mention my name, and if people should be inclined to restore their confidence to him, and he should have some unrequited services at Court, please send him: it would be a great kindness to him, and a great advantage to your humble servant. But your Majesty's will is law." Khwājah Shāh Manqūr read over each section, and wrote an answer according to the Emperor's orders, but when he came to this section His Majesty gave him neither 'Yea' nor 'Nay':—

¹ Muzaḥfar Ḥusain.

² He was the reigning prince of Bijāpūr.

fall from the Emperor's favour, and he took no further notice of
 253 me. Even to this day although a period of eighteen years has
 elapsed since that event, and eighteen thousand worlds¹ have passed
 away, I continue still afflicted with this unrequited service, which
 offers neither chance of confirming myself in his favour, nor
 opportunity of leaving his service:—

“I have not the fortune to have intercourse with the Beloved,
 I have not the fortitude to abstain from Love.
 I have not the power to fight against Fate,
 I have not the foot to flee from the field.”

And while the Emperor was at Hānsī, at the time that he was on
 his way to the Panjāb, a despatch arrived at Court from Shēr Bēg
 Tawāchī, to the effect that Muzaffar Husain Mirzā having fled from
 Gujrat and gone to the Dak'hin, had been captured by Rājah 'Alī
 Khān, and was held prisoner by him. So at the beginning of Zi
 ḥajjah² in the year nine hundred and eighty-five (985) the Emperor
 despatched a *farmān* to Rājah 'Alī Khān by the hand of *Maqqūd*³
Jauharī, which resulted in his sending the Mirzā to the Imperial Court.

In the beginning of the sacred month of Muḥarram⁴ in the year
 nine hundred and eighty-six (986) was the new year's day of the
 Jalālī period, corresponding with the twenty-fourth year from the
 accession:—

“The Ḥafar⁵ of the throne wins the day over the Sultān of the sky:
 Verily his fame rises up to Aries.”

At Patan the Emperor had the honour of visiting the tomb of the
 saint Ganj Shakar (may God sanctify his glorious spirit!), and
 then went for a *Qamurghah* hunt in the neighbourhood of Nan-
 danah, and in the course of four days numberless game was enclosed.

¹ He seems to mean that monstrous changes had taken place in the course
 of that time.

² The twelfth month.

³ See *infra*, p. 274.

⁴ The first month.

⁵ The old name of Muḥarram. Whence the two first months are sometimes
 called *Qafarāni*.

And when it had almost come about that the two sides of the *Qamurghah* were come together, suddenly all at once a strange state and strong frenzy came upon the Emperor, and an extraordinary change was manifested in his manner, to such an extent as cannot be accounted for. And every one attributed it to some cause or other; but God alone knoweth secrets. And at that time he ordered the hunting to be abandoned :—

“ Take care ! for the grace of God comes suddenly,
It comes suddenly, it comes to the mind of the wise.”

254

And at the foot of a tree which was then in fruit he distributed much gold to the faqīrs and poor, and laid the foundation of a lofty building, and an extensive garden in that place. And he cut off the hair of his head, and most of the courtiers followed his example. And when news of this became spread abroad in the Eastern part of India, strange rumours and wonderful lies became current in the mouths of the common people, and some insurrections took place among the rayats, but these were quickly quelled.

While he was at Bihrah the Imperial Bēgum arrived from the Capital. At this time he confided the government of the Panjāb to Sa'id Khān Moghul, and appointed Qāzī 'Alī Baghdādī (who is the grandson¹ of Mir Qāzī Husain Maibazī) to rearrange the boundaries of the lands given as *Madad-i Ma'āsh* and *Aymah* in the Panjāb and elsewhere, which had been encroached upon. He had orders to abolish the old boundaries and re-measure the enclosures, and to put them all together into one village. Thus an exact distinction was made between the different grant-lands of the empire, and all this was done in spite of Shaikh 'Abd-un-nabī, and the dishonesty of his subordinates. Thence the Emperor set out on his return to Fahtpūr. And near to Khizrābād Sādhurah on the 3rd of Jamada'-s-sānī² in the aforesaid year the Emperor embarked on board ship and the Amīrs and nobles of the kingdom also went on board a vessel to accompany him, but the army went by land. And on the 29th of this month the Emperor arrived at Dihlī. During the first part of the month Rajab he disembarked from the water-boat and mounted

¹ The Lak'hnaui edition has asterisks after the word *naberah*.

² The 6th month.

a land-boat (which is a figurative expression for a desert-traversing steed), and on the 6th of this month he reached Ajmīr and attended the festival held at the tomb of the Saint.¹ The next day at the same hour he started for the Imperial Palace, and travelling each day 50 *cosses*, he arrived at Todah at day-break on Friday the 9th. The compiler of these pages, who had come from Basāwar to meet 255 him, paid his respects to him at that time, and presented the Book of the *Aḥādīs*,² which contains forty of them treating on the merit of war with Infidels, and the advantages of archery, and its name includes the date of it. It was admitted into the Library, and no mention whatever was made of any fault on my part in delaying to redeem my promise. And later that day the Emperor came to Fath-pūr. There he used to spend much time in the '*Ibādat-khānah*' in the company of learned men and Shaikhs. And especially on Friday nights, when he would sit up there the whole night continually occupied in discussing questions of Religion, whether fundamental or collateral. The learned men used to draw the sword of the tongue on the battle-field of mutual contradiction and opposition, and the antagonism of the sects reached such a pitch that they would call one another fools and heretics. The controversies used to pass beyond the differences of Sunni, and Shī'ah, of Hanīfī and Shāfi'ī, of lawyer and divine, and they would attack the very bases of belief. And Makhdūm-ul-mulk wrote a treatise, to the effect that Shaikh 'Abd-un-nabī had unjustly killed Khīzr Khān Sarwānī, who had been suspected of blaspheming the Prophet (peace be upon him!), and Mir Ḥabsh, who had been suspected of being a Shī'ah, and saying that it was not right to repeat the prayers after him, because he was undutiful towards his father, and was himself afflicted with hemorrhoids. Shaikh 'Abd-un-nabī replied to him that he was a fool and a heretic. Then the Mullās became divided into two parties, and one party took one side and one the other, and became very Jews³ and Egyptians for hatred of each other. And persons of novel and whimsical opinions, in accordance with their pernicious

¹ Mu'in-ud-dīn Chishtī Sigizī.

² See p. 207, note 1.

³ *Sabī* is from the Hebrew *Shēbhet* 'a tribe' and is applied to Israel as descended from the twelve heads-of-tribes (*Shebhātīm*), the sons of Jacob.

ideas, and vain doubts, coming out of ambush decked the false in the garb of the true, and wrong in the dress of right, and cast the Emperor, who was possessed of an excellent disposition, and was an earnest searcher after truth, but very ignorant and a mere tyro, and used to the company of infidels and base persons, into perplexity, till doubt was heaped upon doubt, and he lost all definite aim, and the straight wall of the clear Law, and of firm Religion was broken down, so that after five or six years not a trace of Islām was left in him : and every thing was turned topsy turvy :—

The matter of me and you has fallen upside down,

256

You *purchase* the very thing I *blame*.¹

(Of this there were many causes and reasons, but in accordance with the Proverb ‘A little guides to the much, and fear points out the culprit,’² a specimen of them is brought forward in the course of this history (and God is the assistant!). In a word crowds of learned men from all nations, and sages of various religions and sects came to the Court, and were honoured with private conversations. After enquiries and investigations, which were their only business and occupation day and night, they would talk about profound points of science, the subtleties of revelation, the curiosities of history, and the wonders of tradition, subjects of which large volumes could give only an abstract and summary : and in accordance with the saying :—“Three things are dangerous, Avarice satisfied : desire indulged : and a man’s being pleased with himself” everything that pleased him, he picked and chose from any one except a Moslem, and anything that was against his disposition, and ran counter to his wishes he thought fit to reject and cast aside. From childhood to manhood, and from manhood to his declining years the Emperor had combined in himself various phases from various religions and opposite sectarian beliefs, and by a peculiar acquisitiveness and a talent for selection, by no means common, had made his own all that can be seen and read in books. Thus a faith of a materialistic character became painted on the mirror of his mind and the storehouse of his

¹ The word عيب ‘blame’ is بيع ‘purchase’ written backwards.

² *Ex uno disce omnes.*

imagination, and from the general impression this conviction took form, like an engraving upon a stone, that there are wise men to be found and ready at hand in all religions, and men of asceticism, and recipients of revelation and workers of miracles among all nations and that the Truth is an inhabitant of every place: and that consequently how could it be right to consider it as confined to one religion or creed, and that, one which had only recently made its appearance and had not as yet endured a thousand years! And why assert one thing and deny another, and claim pre-eminence for that which is not essentially pre-eminent?

257 And Samanas¹ and Brahmans (who as far as the matter of private interviews is concerned gained the advantage over every one in attaining the honour of interviews with his Majesty, and in associating with him, and were in every way superior in reputation to all learned and trained men for their treatises on morals, and on physical and religious sciences, and in religious ecstasies, and stages of spiritual progress and human perfections) brought forward proofs, based on reason and traditional testimony, for the truth of their own, and the fallacy of our religion, and inculcated their doctrine with such firmness and assurance, that they affirmed mere imaginations as though they were self-evident facts, the truth of which the doubts of the sceptic could no more shake—

“Than the mountains crumble, and the heavens be cleft!”

And the Resurrection, and Judgment, and other details and traditions, of which the Prophet was the repository, he laid all aside. And he made his courtiers continually listen to those revilings and attacks against our pure and easy, bright and holy faith, some of which are written in the book called “The Inspiration of Holy Scripture”: and urged and excited them to his own path by speech both set and extempore:—

“The guardian gave advice to that fair one:

Do not smile on every face, as the rose through the wind.

When the advice became past endurance, that coquette

Knit her brow, and hung down her head.”

¹ Buddhist ascetic, Sansk. *gramana*.

gave him a command of 500 and appointed him to the district of Bihār. There he fought a battle with Kallā Pahār, a general dis-
 266 tinguished among the Afghāns for his might and prowess, and gained the victory over him. The Emperor from Fatḥpūr sent him a *farmān* making him a *maṇṣabdār* of 1,000, together with a present of a horse and a dress of honour from his own wardrobe. They say that he saw in a dream the glorified 'Alī (may God be gracious to his countenance!) so distinctly, that you would have said that the blessed hand had struck him on the back. Through this blessing he never turned his back from the foe; and the mark of the hand is visible on his back to this day :—

“What fear of the waves of the sea is there
 To him, who has Noah for his pilot.”

In the month of Shavvāl¹ of the aforesaid year the Emperor sent for Mullā Taib (a worthless wretch) from Kit'hal, and patronized him, and appointed him *Dīwān* of the province of Bihār and Ḥājīpūr. And most of his acts of patronage were of a like character. Also Rāi Puruk'hotam in reward for his commentary² he made *Bakhshī*. And Mullā Mujdī of Sarhind, who had formerly been warrant-writer to Islīm Shāh, he made Receiver-General of revenues. And Shamshīr Khān, *khwājāh-sarā*, he made Superintendent of the Exchequer. And these through the vileness of their birth, which necessarily produces vileness of character, having arrived at that place, were loyal neither to God nor their Emperor. They perpetrated all sorts of oppression and tyranny, and bending unsuitable and unfitting seasons to their wishes, so annoyed the soldiery that they compelled Ma'cūm Khān to revolt, as shall soon be narrated, if God (He is exalted!) will.

In this same month *Maḡṣūd*³ *Jarḥarī* Mirzā Muzaffar Ḥusain brought the presents of Rājah 'Alī Khān from Khāndesh, and presented them to the Emperor, who after a time forgave him his transgressions, and then honoured him by raising him to the dignity of son-in-law,⁴ and took him into favour.

¹ The tenth month.

² On the *Khīrad-afzū*. See p. 265.

³ See p. 260.

⁴ In the 36th year he married him to his eldest daughter, the Sultān Khūnum.

In this year the Emperor appointed Shahbāz Khān *Bakhshī*, with Ghāzi Khān Badakhshī and Shatīf Khān Atgah, and others to march against Rānā Kikā.¹ The Rānā shut himself up in Kōṇbhal-mīr,² which is a strong fortress. The imperial troops were victorious and ravaged that district. One night the Rānā effected his escape from the fortress, and took refuge in another mountain-fastness. 267

In this year Sulṭān Khwājah returned from a pilgrimage to Makkah and brought with him horses of Arabian pedigree, and Abyssinian slaves, and other precious presents for the Emperor, who received him with favour and made him *Qadr*.

The office of *Mīr-Hājī* for the year nine hundred and eighty-six was given to Khwājah Muḥammad Yalyā, one of the descendants of Khwājah Ahmār (God sanctify his spirit!). He left 4 laes of rupees as a deposit at his ancestor's shrine, and in the month of Sha'vāf of this year started from Ajmir to go to Makkah.

Now Shaikh 'Abd-un-nabī and Makhdūm-ul-mulk having fallen out with one another had been the cause of people's distrusting both the past and the future, and had brought about a great declension from true religion. In accordance with the [Arabic] saying: "When two people clash together, they fall together" the Emperor sent them to Makkah together with this caravan. The next year they arrived at the goal of their wishes, and in the end of the business (which deserves honour for that result) they became cleansed from their accidental stain, and returned in safety to the fold of Islām, and learning eventually brought about its natural result, and "He is great, and man is little" was found to give the date.

In the beginning of the year nine hundred and eighty-seven (987) news arrived of the death of Khān Jahān governor of Bengāl. The Emperor wrote a *farmān* of condolence to his brother Isma'īl Qulī Khān, and he appointed Muzaffar Khān, who had been honoured with the post of Dīwān, as governor in his stead, and Razawī Khān

¹ Also called Pratāb, or Partāb.

² On the frontiers of Odīpūr and Joudpūr.

³ The 10th month.

⁴ $5 + 6 + 70 + 7 + 10 + 7 + 100 + 6 + 40 + 30 + 6 + 700 = 987$.

and Hāji Ibrāhīm had to sue for permission to retire to the Dak'hin; 278 until on suspicion of rebellion the Emperor sent for him, and committed him to the keeping of Hākīm 'Ain-ul-Mulk. His Majesty used to send for him to attend the evening *sēances*, and he inventing such things as would please the Emperor presented a pamphlet containing all sorts of lies about the great ones of the Faith. But this forgery and deception was found out. The sum-total of it is that he wrote in a clumsy manner in an old worm-eaten book a spurious expression purporting to have emanated from Shaikh Ibn 'Arabī (God sanctify his tomb!), to the effect that the Khālīf of the age would have many wives, and would shave his beard; and he included many other peculiarities of the Emperor. So his Majesty became again propitiated, and admitted him once more among his courtiers. And according to report Hāji Ibrāhīm had interpolated in an old pamphlet, one of the works of Mullā Abu Sa'id, nephew of Miyān Mān Pānīpatī, a Tradition to the effect that a son of one of the Companions of the Prophet came shaven into his presence (God bless him, and his family, and grant them peace!), and that he said: "The people of Paradise will look like that." When he took to boldly disputing with Shāh Fath-ullāh, and Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl, and Hākīm Abu-l-Fath, and satirizing them, the Emperor sent him to the castle of Rintamb'hor. There he died; and after the razing of the fortress, they found his dead body, which was tied up with long strips of cloth, and the story got abroad that he had thrown himself down from the top of the fortress. This event took place in the year nine hundred and ninety-four:—

"Last night our share in this world was in a garden like Paradise, But this morning we are without house, *as if it had never been inhabited.*"¹

And any piece of orthodox learning which a man might have acquired became his bane, and the cause of his degradation. And the 'Ulamā and Shaikhs, the leaders of thought to all around, he sent for to the Court, and enquired into their grant-lands and pensions. He saluted and honoured them all in the Moghul style,² and

¹ Al Qur'ān X, 25.

² See p. 46, note 3.

when they had had either a public or a private audience with him, he settled upon them a certain portion of land according to the 279 opinion he had formed of them. And any one, whom he knew to have pupils, or assemblies for dervish-dancing, or any kind of counterfeit¹ worship, he named "a shop,"² and either sent him to prison, or dismissed him to Bengāl or Bakkar. And this business was always going on. Those Pīrs who had reached a blessed old age, and those Shaikhs who were nearest eternity, were the best off. But to enter into details would be too long. And on account of these *farmāns* the Çūfis, who gave themselves up to dances and ecstasies, were subjected to the *testamur* of Hindū examiners, and through their evil *state* "they forgot their religious *ecstasy*."³ These were banished from their country and had to creep into mouse-holes, and the whole position was reversed :—

" There was one year such a famine in Damascus,
That lovers forgot love.
Heaven became so stingy towards earth,
That fields and palms did not wet their lips."

And in truth those wretched assemblies, and absurd ceremonies, and those worthless hypocritical Çūfis were for the more part quite worthy of perishing :—

" That is not Çūfi-action or liberality,
But rather deceitful action and bawdery.
Theft and robbery are better than this,
Robbing the dead of their clothes is better than this."

However much I wish that this bit of sketch of an historical picture may be put together, my pen against my will slips from my guidance and turns in another direction to the description of this period of innovation, and the doctrines of the new sect and religion :—

¹ That is, in the Emperor's eyes.

² He meant that he was making his religion a *trade*. Comp. one of the sayings of Hillel in *Mishnāh*, *Āboth*; and many similar sayings throughout the *Talmūdīm*.

³ A pun on the two meanings of *hāl*, *στάσις* and *ἐκστασις*.

‘The virtues of Kāfūr, if I wish to praise him,
Or if I wish not, they dictate to me and I write.’

“Hush! the master is coming to the house.”

Would that I were quit of this business; but what can I do?—

“They are gone under whose skirts we lived,
And I am left among the worthless like the skin of a seabby
camel.”

280 “I reproached heaven, that with sword of oppression thou hast
slain
Assembly-adorning kings, and the youth of the Barmak-family.¹
Thou hast placed thine own power of binding and loosing in
the hands of a people,
Compared with whom a dog is honourable in respect of genero-
sity.
But in the ear of my soul the answer came: Be content, live
happily!
For a period of eighteen days² pulls out the beard of every-
one.”

In this year Muzaffar Khān arrived in Bengāl, and began a
course of great strictness in his administration, and commenced wrong-
ing and oppressing the Amīrs of that district, and confiscated many
of their *jāgīrs*. He practised the *dāgh-u-mahall* in the Court
fashion, and the settlement of accounts in the old manner:—

“Be not hard in reckoning with the world,
For every one who is hard dies a hard death.
In letting people be at ease spend thy time,
For he lives at ease, who leaves people at ease.”

And Bābā Khān Qāqshāl, and Khālīdī Khān, who were nobles
of great importance, however much they tried to escape the *dāgh*,
and begged to have their *jāgīrs* confirmed, did not obtain their
request. But Muzaffar Khān with a view to getting back the

¹ Put to death by Hārūn-ur-rashīd.

² I. e., a short time.

Khān Qāqshāl with a view to co-operating with him, he hastened to Garhi.

On the side of Muzaffar Khān Khwājah Shams-ud-dīn Muḥammad Khawāfi¹ (who is now *Dīwān-i-kul*²) opposed their entrance into Garhi.

Then Ma'qūm Khān having been victorious and having succeeded in forming a junction with the Qāqshāls, crossed the river Ganges to oppose Muzaffar Khān. Muzaffar Khān shut him off up in the fort of Tāndah, which consisted of four old walls and nothing more. 282 Vazīr Khān Jamāl Bēg, who was one of the old loyal Amīrs in conjunction with Jān Muḥammad Khān Bihbūlt and other warriors, joined the rebels. They took Ḥakīm Abū-l-Faṭḥ and Khwājah Shams-ud-dīn and most of the nobles prisoners. But these two leaders together with Rāi Patr Dās by some means or other effected their escape, and with the help of the *zamīndārs* managed to reach Hājīpūr. During these troubles Ḥakīm Nūr-ud-dīn Qarāi lost his life. The Qāqshāls and Ma'qūm Khān lured Muzaffar Khān out of the fort of Tāndah upon a solemn assurance of safety, and then put him to death with all sorts of tortures. And making his goods and chattels the fund from which they drew in inducing people to join them, they collected a force. So the whole of the province of Bengāl and Bihār fell into their hands, and they collected a large force of horsemen and foot-soldiers. They released from prison Mirzā Sharaf-ud-dīn Husain, whom the Emperor had sent from the prison of Qāsim 'Alī Khān Baqqāl governor of Kālpi to Bengāl, and made him their general.

Then Rājah Todar Mal, with Qādiq Muḥammad Khān and Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān and other mighty Amīrs were appointed from Faṭhpūr to go and quell the rebellion. And Muḥibb 'Alī Khān, governor of Rohtās, and Muḥammad Ma'qūm Khān Farankhūdi, governor of Jaunpūr, and the other *jāgīr*-holders of the neighbourhood were ordered to assist the Rājah. While they were still on their way Shāham Khān Jalāir engaged with Sa'id Khān Badakhshī

¹ Khawāfi is the name of a district and town in Khurāsān. *Blochm.* p. 445.

² The 12 *Dīwāns* who in 1003 had been appointed to the *Qūbahs*, were under his orders. *Dīwān-i-kul* is the same as *Vazīr-i-kul*, or *Tazīr-i-Mullaq*, or merely *Vazīr*. *Blochm.* p. 446, note 3.

and slew him. Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm Jounpūrī joined the Rājah with 3,000 well-trained and perfectly appointed cavalry. But symptoms of rebellion were apparent in all his actions. The Rājah detecting this tried to soothe him by every possible means. Meanwhile he sent a report of the state of affairs to Court.

Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm Khān Kābnī, and the Qāqshāls and Mirzā Sharaf-ud-dīn Husain with 30,000 gallant horsemen, and 500 elephants and a number of boats and cannon in battle array seemed to intend to offer battle in the neighbourhood of the town of Mungīr. The Rājah since he could not quite trust his army, which was on the look-out for the slightest change of fortune, did not deem it prudent to fight in the open, and so shut himself up in the fortress of Mungīr. Every day skirmishes took place, and the Imperial army was reduced to great distress. At this time Zain-ud-dīn Kambū, a relative of Shahbāz Khān brought by water a *lac* of rupees under a postal-guard, and delivered them over to the Rājah. This supported him for a few days. In the same way the Emperor sent a *lac* of rupees every few days, one time by the hand of Daryā Khān Ābdār, another time by Sarmadī, and another time by a son of the banker¹ Bhagwān Dās the treasurer, and so received news each time. Of the number of the postal-guard was one 'Abd-ul-Ḥay Khawwās, a handsome man without brains, son of Qāzī Ḥadr-ud-dīn Sambhalī (who also in a blundering sort of way used to discuss ceremonial and religious matters), he died young, and his barque of life was drawn into the whirlpool of calamity.

At this time Humāyūn Farmūlī, a son of the celebrated Shāh Farmūlī, who had received the title of Humāyūn Qulī Khān, and at the time of the discussions about the new Musalmānīsh customs, and the worrying and examining of men at Ajmīr, had been a witness of those dreadful pieces of work, together with Tarkhān Diwānah fled from the army of the Rājah and joined the rebels.

It so happened that during the course of the siege Bābā Khān Qāqshāl fell grievously sick, and was on the point of death. Then Jabbārī, son of Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl, who was a strong pillar of that cause (and is now in high favour in the service of the Emperor) on account of the sickness of Bābā Khān showed an inclination to

¹ Hindī *Sū'h*, Sanskrit *śreṣṭha* "excellent," "banker."

be off. And so the solidity of that confederacy began to be broken up. Ma'çūm Khān Kābuli was obliged to hasten towards Bihār. And 'Arab Bahādur went from thence by forced marches to seize Patnah and get the imperial treasury into his hands. Pahār Khān Khaṣṣ-i-khail, who is generally known as Sayyid 'Ārif, shut him-
 284 self up in the fortress of Patnah. And Rājah Todar Mal sent Ma'çūm Khān Farankhūdi with a force to the assistance of Pahār Khān. 'Arab Bahādur, being unable to withstand the force opposed to him, withdrew to Kachitī,¹ a well-known *zamīndār* (?)²

The Rājah and Çādiq Khān with the rest of the Amīrs set off for Bihār with the intention of suppressing Ma'çūm Khān Kābuli. The latter made a night-attack on them. It so happened that he attacked the quarters of Çādiq Khān. On that night one Tārmāh Bēg, a great leader, who in conjunction with Ulugh Khān the Abyssinian had been appointed to keep guard, was slain. Ulugh Khān fell back but Çādiq Khān held his ground: Ma'çūm Khān fought bravely, and did all that was possible, but when he found that the attack was unsuccessful he retired, and became a bandit throughout that wide district. Eventually he took refuge with 'Isā Khān, the *zamīndār* of Orisā, who at that time by the hand of Sa'id Khān Mughal sent to the Court two hundred and fifty elephants, and other precious gifts together with a sum of four lacs of rupees, and gold vessels, and aloe-wood, and fine linen and cloth beyond compare, and he is still there to this day. Thus the whole of the province of Bihār as far as Garhi came into the possession of the imperial army.

At this time the Emperor sent for Shajā'at Khān, and his son Qāyim Khān (who had a stipend as one of the musical people about Court, and was a smart and clever young man) from Sārangpūr to come to Fathpūr. On the road their attendants on account of bad conduct and evil goings-on, and faithlessness, and worthlessness, which are inseparable qualities of a leader of our day, killed both him and his son, and then dispersed. They say, that one day a beggar asked for something of Shajā'at Khān, and other Khāns, who were in the audience-chamber. After he had importuned them

¹ This is also the reading of the Lak'hnau lithograph.

² See Text, p. 265, ll. 7, 8. Transl. p. 293.

much he answered him: "My good man, the door of alms which admits yōn, was not made by us."

After this event the Emperor appointed Shārif Khān Atgah governor of Malwā in his place, and having visited him at his quarters and received the greatest hospitality, he despatched him to that district.

In this year the Emperor sent for Khān-i-Azam from Āgrah, where he had been for a long time under surveillance, and treating him with kindness sent him with 5,000 horsemen to assume the governorship of Bengal¹. And having sent for Shahbāz Khān from the district of the Rana, he appointed him with a well-equipped army to assist Khān-i-Azam, with orders that he should proceed to the confines of Hajipūr and traversing the jungle of Kachhīti should compel Arab Bahādur to come out of that place.

In this year Ḥakīm-ul-mulk Gilāni, being reckoned by the Emperor as one of those not to be trusted in matters of religion and faith,² was sent, as has been already narrated, to Makkah with a sum of five *lacs* of rupees, to be given as presents to the worthy among the *sharīfs* and poor. And there he remained for the rest of his life:—

"I will not move from the head of thy street.

I am not the rolling heavens, but the stationary earth."

And however much the Emperor sent for him he still remained there, and committed himself to God.

In this year he sent for the renowned Shaikhs from all sides and quarters, and had a private interview with each, and investigated several matters. Most of them made themselves agreeable, having a grant of some *biḡahs* of land in view (may dust be scattered on their heads!), and indulged in flattery, and wheedling, and open blasphemy. And their real intentions broke through their cloke of dissimulation. This is the portion of the enemies [of the Faith]: Morals remained after the loss of Renunciation, Solitude, Trust, Contentment, Aspiration; and even that too men saw stripped from them all, and so suspicion of them crept into other quarters:—

¹ See Elliot, V, p. 419, *note*.

² *I. e.*, He could not depend on him to side with himself.

288 to Shāh Qulī Khān Muḥarrām, and in his place appointed Vazīr Khān, brother of Āḡāf Khān of Herāt, as *Dīwān-i-kul*. And to Qāzī: "Alī Baghdādī, a heart-troubler, unlucky, preposterous, owl-like, rejected of God and mankind, he granted the honour of being his assistant, that in conjunction they might decide important cases. Glory to God! what a proper combination it was!

At this time they brought a man to Court, who had no ears nor any trace of the orifices of the ear. In spite of this he heard everything that was said to him, though ~~the place of the ears was~~ quite level. And in this year, ~~in order to verify the circumstances of this~~ case, an order was issued that several suckling infants should be kept in a secluded place far from habitations, where they should not hear a word spoken. Well-disciplined nurses were to be placed over them, who were to refrain from giving them any instruction in speaking, so as to test the accuracy of the Tradition which says: "Every one that is born is born in a state of nature," by ascertaining what religion and sect these infants would incline to, and above all what creed they would repeat. To carry out this order about twenty sucklings were taken from their mothers, for a consideration in money, and were placed in an empty house, which got the name of "Dumb-house." After three or four years they all turned out dumb, and the appellation of the place turned out prophetic. Many of these sucklings became the nurselings of mother earth:—

"My mother is earth, and I am a suckling,

The propensity of children for their mother is not strange.

Soon will it be that resting from trouble

I shall fall drunk with sleep on my mother's bosom."¹

¹ Compare Chaucer *Pardoner's Tale* 12661—12672.

"Ne Death alas! no will not have my life.

Thus walk I like a restless caitiff,

And on the ground which is my mother's gate

I knocke with my staff, early and late

And say to her, "Leve mother, let me in," &c.

Also Cowley's *Old Man of Verona*. And in Eastern literature Job i. 21, "Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return *thither*," scil. ἐν τῇ ταφῇ εἰς μητέρα πάντων, Eccles. xi. 1. And Rig Veda (X, 18), as the body is committed to the earth, the hymn proceeds:—

In this year the Emperor sent the prince Dāniyāl with Shaikh Faizī, who was his teacher, and Shaikh Jamāl Bakhtyār, and a number of courtiers to Ajmir. And he presented a donation of 25,000 rupees to the *faqīrs* of that monastery.

In this year Rājah Todar Mal and the other imperial Amīrs passed the rainy season in Hājipūr.

289

And Ma'cūm Khān Farankhūdī, who was in a discontented state of mind went to Jounpūr without the permission of the Amīrs, and broke out into rebellion. The Emperor sent Peshrou Khān, known as Mihtar Sa'adat, the head of the chamberlain department (*dāro-ghah-i-farāshkhānah*), with a *farmān* to appease him, and the government of Jounpūr was given to Tarsūn Khān, and that of Oudh to Ma'cūm Khān Farankhūdī. He uttering some wild speeches like a crazy man, and considering Oudh an out-of-the-way corner of the Empire, went there and began to prepare for war.

Meanwhile Mihtar Sa'adat came to Court, and reported the conduct of the Amīrs of that province; he also recounted how that Mullā Muḥammad Yazdī had issued a *fatwā* authorizing rebellion and insurrection. This was the cause of Mullā Muḥammad Yazdī and Mīr Mu'izz-ul-mulk being sent for, as has been narrated.

At this time Niyābat Khān, son of Hāshim Khān, Nishāpūrī, who at the time of the Emperor's going to Patnah had found favour, revolted in Jhosī and Payāg (Prayāg), which was his *jāgīr*, and marching against Karāh, which sided with Isma'il Qulī Khān, and an Afghān named Ilyās Khān, who was governor of that place, slew Ilyās Khān in battle. They then laid siege to the fortress, and began to ravage and lay waste the country. The Emperor appointed Isma'il Qulī Khān *Vazīr Khān*, and Muṭlab Khān, and Shaikh Jamāl Bakhtyār, and other Amīrs, to march against Niyābat Khān.

Shāh Qulī Khān Mnharram, and Birbar *bādfarosh*,² he sent to Oudh to try and appease Ma'cūm Khān Farankhūdī.

“Approach thou now the lap of earth, thy mother.

The wide-extending earth, the ever kindly.”

Such instances might be multiplied indefinitely.

¹ See p. 285.

² Minstrel, dealer in encomiums.

Sultān Khwājah *Ḥadr*, and Shaikh Ibrāhīm Chishtī, as vicegerents, marched from Fathpūr towards the Punjāb. At the *sarāi* of Bād, which is fifteen *cosses* from Fathpūr, news arrived of the victory of Shahbāz Khān.¹

292 Mān Singh found in the portfolio of Shādmān three letters of Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm addressed respectively to Ḥakīm-ul-mulk Gīlānī, Shāh Maṇṣūr *Dīwān*, and Qāsim Khān *Mīr-baḥr*. He sent them *verbatim* to the Emperor, who read them, but kept the matter to himself.

At Dihlī news arrived, that the Mirzā was encamped at Lāhor in the garden of Mahdī Qāsim Khān, and that Rājah Bhagwān Dās, and Mān Singh, and Sa'id Khān had shut themselves up in the fortress.

At Pānīpat Malik Sānī Kābulī, *vazīr* of Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, who had the title of Vazīr Khān, having been vexed by the Mirzā arrived at the quarters of Shāh Maṇṣūr, and got him to introduce him at Court. Since there had not been in times past any such manifest intimacy and connection between these two persons, the absence of Sānī Khān from the Mirzā at such a juncture seemed to the Emperor to be accounted for by some design on the part of the Mirzā, and as not being devoid of interested motives, so it confirmed his previous suspicions of Khwājah Shāh Maṇṣūr. Accordingly he had him arrested and showed him the letters. However much he swore to his own innocence it did him no good, for it is an acknowledged principle, that "A denial on oath is no proof of innocence." In the neighbourhood of Shāhābād Malik 'Alī, brother of Qāzī 'Alī, who is now *Kotwāl* of Lāhor, sent to the Court in one parcel two obscure letters. One was addressed to Shāh Maṇṣūr from one Musharraf² Bēg, who was a servant of Shāh Maṇṣūr. The second was from a person, whose identity was suspected, containing an account of his interview, first with Farīdūn Khān, and secondly with the Mirzā, and how the Mirzā had settled the affairs of a certain *parganna*, which was either known or suspected. And this much became known by inference and conjecture, that Sharaf Bēg, a servant of Shāh Maṇṣūr, who was

¹ Over Ma'ḥūm Farankhūdī.

² Called Sharaf over down, and also in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*.

*Shikkdār*¹ on his behalf in the *parganna* of Firozpur, thirty *cosses* from Lāhor, had written to his master: "I have had an interview with the Mirzā through the intervention of Faridūn Khān, he has sent his agents everywhere, but he has exempted our *parganna*." And suspicion became a certainty. Most, nay all, of the Amīrs, 293 who had received many annoyances from Shāh Maṇṣūr, were longing for his fall. With one consent they exerted themselves to secure his execution. In the morning the Emperor ordered the Captain of the guard² to hang him on gallows at the *Manzil* of Kajh-koṭ.³ His numerous oppressions of the people formed the halter round his neck, and may it remain clinging there till the day of Resurrection. "Beware of the service of kings, for they pride themselves on giving an answer in peace, but they think nothing of cutting off your head in punishment:—

"Be of good cheer, for no tyrant
Completes his course in peace."

The Emperor came by way of Sarhind to Kalānor and Rohtās, and reached the Indus. When the Mirzā heard this news, he crossed the river of Lāhor, and turned his reins back to Kābul. And so the mystery of the verse⁴: "On that day shall a man flee from his brother" became manifest.

In the month of Rabī'us-sānī⁵ of this year the Emperor ordered to be built on the banks of the Indus,⁶ which is generally known as the *Sind-sāgar*, a fortress, which he called Aṭak Banāras, to distinguish it from Kaṭak Banāras.⁷

From this place he sent the prince Sulṭān Mūrād with Qulij Khān and other Amīrs to Kābul. And prior to this he had sent Mān Singh with a body of Amīrs towards Pashāwar.

¹ Revenue-collector.

² The *Khidmatīyyah* were foot-guards on duty in the environs of the palace. These chiefs received the title of *Khidmat-rāi*. Blochm. p. 252.

³ Called in the *Akbarnamah* the *Sarāi* of Koṭ K'hachwah. Blochm. p. 431, n.

⁴ Al Qur'ān LXXX, 30.

⁵ The fourth month.

⁶ *Nīlāb*.

⁷ These were the two frontier towns of his empire, and he wished them to have similar names. Blochm. p. 374 n.

At this time the Mīrzā sent Khwājah Abū-l-Faẓl Naqshbandī and Muḥammad ‘Alī Dīwānah as ambassadors to the Court to sue for pardon for his offences. The Emperor sent back with them Hājī Ḥabīb-ullāh with the message: “Forgiveness is conditional on repentance for what is past, and an oath for future conduct, also on your sending to the Court your sister, who is married to Khwājah Ḥasan.” The Mīrzā said to Hājī: “Khwājah Ḥasan will not agree to sending my sister, for he has taken her away to Badakhshān. But I am very sorry for what I have done:—

“I have repented, and am sorry for what I have done,

294 Call me no more a Kāfir, for I am become a Muslim.”

On the 15th of Jamāda’s-sānī having crossed the river Indus the Emperor sent Khwājah Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad in haste to Jalā-lābād to the prince Shāh Murād and the Amīrs, with the request: “Please send me your advice.” They replied: “The best thing you can do is to come as quickly as possible.” And both Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad, and Hājī Ḥabīb-ullāh came together from that place, and at Pashāwar gave each his own message to the Emperor. Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad said: “Although the Amīrs in their usual talk say: ‘We ourselves are sufficient’; yet in the language of present facts¹ they say: ‘Victory follows on the footsteps of the Emperor.’” Accordingly the Emperor left the prince Sulṭān Salīm with Rājah Bhagwān Dās and Qāzī ‘Alī Mīrbakhshī in the camp, and travelling express at the rate of twenty *cosses* a day arrived at a place called Sarkhāb, fifteen *cosses* from the camp of Prince Murād. Then Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm at seven *cosses* from Kābul, at a place called Khurd-kābul had a severe engagement with his nephew,² who was like the king’s son in the game of great chess.³ The Mīrzā at last took to flight with the intention of taking refuge with Abū-ullāh Khān Uzbek. Prince Murād entered Kābul.

¹ This juxtaposition of *qūl* “voice,” and *ḥāl* “present circumstances” reminds one of Demosthenes, 1st Olynthiac. ὁ παρὸν καιρὸς μοι τοιοῦτον λέγει φωνὴ ἀκούσι.

² Prince Murād.

³ See Bland in Asiatic Society’s Journal, Vol. 13 (old series).

The day before the action Farīdūn Khān had attacked the rear of the Prince's army, and had slain many men. He had plundered the treasury of Qulij Khān and the other Amīrs, and carried off much spoil. Hājī Muḥammad an *Aḥadī*, who had preceded the Emperor by means of postal-relays, arrived on the spot just as the plundering was going on. When he saw what had happened, he returned to Surkhāb and told the tale to the Emperor in an incoherent manner, and caused him much annoyance. The next day, as the Emperor was recommencing his march, news of the victory was brought.

On the tenth of the month Rajab¹ the Emperor entered the fortress of Kābul. He spent a week enjoying himself in the gardens of that city. When he enquired of some trusty followers 295 of Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm the history of the affair of that letter to Shāh Maṇqūr, and examined closely into the matter, he found out that Karam-ullāh, brother of Shahbāz Khān together with other Amīrs had concocted all this forgery and deception, and that the last letter also, which had been the cause of his being put to death, was a forgery of the Amīrs. So the Emperor was very much grieved about the execution of Shāh Maṇqūr :—

“Thy noble death, which was intended [by God],
Was brought about by the instrumentality of man.”

But that repentance was like the drinking of the elixir by Sohrāb.²

The Emperor sent Latīf Khwājāh *Mīr shikār* to the Mirzā to tell him that his offences were forgiven, and so prevented his taking refuge in the territory of the Uzbeks. Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm took in his presence on oath of allegiance, and executed an engagement, which he sent by ‘Alī Muḥammad Asp along with him to the Court.

His Majesty conferred Kābul upon Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, and leaving the army he returned quickly to Jalālābād, where there was a large encampment. At this time Khwājagī Muḥammad Ḥusain, brother of Muḥammad Qāsim Khān *Mīr baḥr*, who was

¹ The seventh month.

² That is, it was too late.

and had given to any one any post that he wished for) arrived at that station with great magnificence, pomp, and circumstance to pay homage to the Emperor. When His Majesty enquired the cause of all this bravery, he replied: "If I had not thus won over the soldiery, they would have revolted with one consent. Now the Empire is yours and the army is yours. You may give what you like to whom you will, and take away appointments and *jāgīrs* from whom you please":—

"From whom you please take away,
To whom you please give."

On the twenty-fifth of Shavvāl¹ the Emperor returned to Dihlī, and the younger prince, and the queens came out to meet him, and on the fifth of Zī-qa'dah² he made his *entrée* into the metropolis.

During this journey since I had been left behind on account of a bond of great friendship which I had contracted with one Mazharī, who was one of the divine objects,³ and on account of my freedom and *abandon* which lasted a whole year at Basāwar,⁴ and brought me in the course thereof into many strange and difficult circumstances, when I arrived at Fathpūr on the 6th of this month, I paid my respects to His Majesty. He had previously asked Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl "How was he left behind on this journey?" He replied: "He is one of the pensioners, and is dead." And after this, when near Kābul he had directed the Qadr-i-Jahān to make out and present to him a list of all the people of piety, who were attending 297 with the army, or who were absent. When my name came up, the late Khwājah Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad, author of the *Tārīkh-i-Nizāmī*, with whom I had become acquainted about a year before that time, but who was as friendly as if I had known him a hundred years, in the great kindness and consideration which he showed to all his friends, and to me in particular, caused me to be put down and returned as sick. And certainly the devotion to created things

¹ The tenth month.

² The eleventh month.

³ A play on the word *mazhar*.

⁴ Lak'hnuu ed. has *Pashāwar*.

The wearing of gold and silk dresses [at prayer-time] was made obligatory. One day I saw the Mufti of the imperial dominions clothed in a garment of unmixed silk. I enquired: "Perhaps a Tradition about this matter has come to your notice?" He said, "Yes, in any city where silk is used, it is allowable to wear silken garments." I replied: "One ought to get a sight of that Tradition, for one cannot swallow a mere decree of the Emperor." He said: "It is not without one. But God knows!"

The prayers of Islām, the fast, nay even the ~~pilgrimage~~, were henceforth forbidden. Some bastards, such as the son of Mulla Mubārīk, a worthy disciple of Shaikh Abu-i-Fazl, wrote treatises, in order to revile and ridicule our religious practices, of course with proofs. His Majesty liked such productions, and promoted the authors.

The era of the Hijrah was now abolished, and a new era was introduced, of which the first year was the year of the Emperor's accession, viz., nine hundred and sixty-three. The months had the same names as at the time of the old Persian kings, and as given in the *Niṣāb uṣ-ṣibyān*.¹ Fourteen festivals also were introduced corresponding to the feasts of the Zoroastrians; but the feasts of the Musalmāns and their glory were trodden down, the Friday prayer alone being retained, because some old, decrepit, silly people used to go to it. The new era was called the *Tārīkh-i-Ilāhī*.² On copper coins and gold *muhurs* the era of the Millennium was used, as indicating that the end of the religion of Muḥammad, which was to last one thousand years, was drawing near. Reading and learning Arabic was looked on as a crime; and Muḥammadan law, and the exegesis
307 of the Qur'ān, and the Tradition, as also those who studied them, were considered bad and deserving of disapproval. Astronomy, philosophy, medicine, mathematics, poetry, history, and novels, were cultivated and thought necessary. Even the letters which are peculiar to the Arabic language, viz., ث ح ع ط, and ظ were avoided. Thus for عبدالله 'Abd-ullāh people pronounced ابدالله *Abd-ullāh*;

¹ A vocabulary in rhyme by Abū Nuṣr of Forāh a town in Sijistān. Blochm. p. 41, note 2

² Divine era.

and for احدى *Ahadi* they pronounced ادى *Ahadi* &c. All this pleased His Majesty. Two verses from the *Shāhnāmāh*,¹ which Firdūsi of Tūs gives as part of a story, were frequently quoted at Court :—

‘Through the eating of the milk² of camels and lizards
The Arabs have made such progress,
That they now wish to get hold of the kingdom of Persia.
Fie upon Fate! Fie upon Fate!’

And so any verse which involved something of dubious tendency favouring his sect he heard gladly from the doctors, and considered it a great point in his favour, such as the verse from the *Sajahrāk* (3) in which the loss of the Prophet’s teeth in an action against infidels is alluded to

In the same way every command and doctrine of Islām, whether special or general, as the prophetship, the harmony of Islām with reason, the doctrines of *Rūyat*, *Taklīt*, and *Takwīn*,³ the details of the day of resurrection and judgment, all were doubted and ridiculed. And if any one did object to this mode of arguing, his answer was not accepted. But it is well-known how little chance a man has, who cites proofs against one who will reject them, especially when his opponent has the power of life and death in his hands; for equality of condition is a *sine qua non* in arguing :—

“A man whom you cannot convince by the Qur’ān and the Tradition,

Can only be replied to by not replying to him.”

Many families plunged into these discussions, but perhaps ‘discussions’ is not the correct name; we should call them ‘meetings for arrogance and defamation.’ People who sold their religion were busy to collect all kinds of exploded errors, and brought them to His Majesty, as if they were so many rarities. Thus Laṭīf Khwājah, 308

¹ It occurs in the letter of the Persian general Rustam to the Arabian general Sa’d. See ed. Maenn IV, p. 2066.

² On the effect of food upon a race see Herodotus *in fin.*

³ See Blochm. p. 196 notes.

who came of a noble family in Turkistān, made a frivolous remark on a passage in Tirmizi's *Shamā'il*,¹ and asked how in the world the neck of the Prophet could be compared to the neck of an idol. Other remarks were passed on the "straying camel."² Some again expressed their astonishment, that the Prophet in the beginning of his career plundered the caravans of the Qnraish; that he had fourteen wives; that any married woman was no longer to belong to her husband, if the Prophet (peace be upon him!) thought her agreeable. And many other things which it would take too long to recount:—

"The woes caused by thy tresses, and cheek, to explain
Would require a long night, and moon-light."

At night, when there were social assemblies, His Majesty told forty courtiers to sit down as 'the Forty,'³ and every one might say or ask what he liked. If any one brought up a question connected with law or religion, they said: "You had better ask the Mullās about it, as we only settle things which appeal to man's reason." But it is impossible for me to relate the blasphemous remarks which they made about the Companions of the Prophet (God be merciful to them!), when the historical books happened to be read out, especially such as contained the reigns of the first three Khalifahs, and the quarrel about Fadak, the war of the Çifin &c. would that I were deaf! The Shī'ahs, of course, gained the day, and the Sunnis were defeated; the good were in fear, and the wicked were secure. Every day a new order was given, and a new aspersion or a new doubt came up; and His Majesty saw in the discomfiture of one party a proof of his own infallibility, entirely forgetting the proverb that a man may be hoisted with his own petard.⁴ And so those who were before in favour now fell out of favour, and those who were before out of favour came into favour, those who had been near, became afar, and those who had been afar became near. Praise

¹ A collection of Traditions regarding the figure and looks of the Prophet.

² Referring to the charge of adultery against *Āishah*, the Prophet's favourite wife. *Al Qur'ān* XXIV.

³ The 40 *Abdāl*. See *Blochm.* p. 197 note.

⁴ *Li.* 'Every one who rejects is rejected.'

be to Him? who ruleth absolutely in his kingdom as it pleaseth Him. And the common people with as little sense as brute beasts repeated continually nothing but "*Allāh Akbar*." This caused great commotion. Mullā Sheri at this time composed a *qit'ah* of ten verses, 309 of which the following are some :—

“ Until in each age there arise some overwhelming calamity.
 Disturbance in the street of events will be a householder.
 By the punishment of the debt-exacting sword on heretics
 The obligation of the head will be paid by the bond of the
 neck
 The collar of the lying philosopher will be torn.
 And devotion clothed in rags will have its piety established.
 It is utter confusion of brain, if a fool take into his head,
 That love of the Prophet can ever be banished from mankind.
 I cannot help smiling at that complet, which so glibly
 Will be recited at the tables of the rich, caught up by the
 beggar :—
The king this year has laid claim to be a Prophet,
After the lapse of a year, please God, he will become God ! ”

At the new year's feasts His Majesty inveigled many of the 'Ulama and the pious, nay even the Qāzīs and Muftīs of the realm into the ravine of toast-drinking.—

“ Love for thee brings news from the world of madness,
 It brings pious people to wine-bibbing.
 Thy memory, O Love, what a masterly potion it is,
 For it makes us forget all that we have learnt.”

At last the Mujtahids [of the Divine Faith], especially [Faizī, who called himself] the king of poets, called out: “ Here is a bumper to the confusion of the lawyers ! ” On the last day of this feast, when the sun enters the nineteenth degree of Aries (a day called *Sharaf-ush-sharaf*, and considered particularly holy by His Majesty) the grandees were promoted, or received new *jāgīrs*, or horses or 310 dresses of honour, according to the rules of hospitality, or in proportion to the presents they brought.

314 not make up their minds to part with him. But at last he gained this felicity, and having arrived at Baṭḥā wa Yathrab (may God magnify them both!) in glory and dignity, he obtained eternal acceptance, and there passed away from this old dust-bin:—

“ A life, about which thou hast been informed beforehand,
From it seek not a happiness, which is eternal.
A life, into which death can find an entrance,
Say to it, Be long, or short, as you please.”

And in his place the Emperor appointed, as *Qāzi-l-qazāt*, Qāzī ‘Abd-us-samī’ the Transoxonian of Miṣyānkāl,¹ of whom the poet Qāsim Khān Moujī might have composed the verse:—

“ An elder from an honoured tribe,
With a beard, like a white rose, a yard long.”

He used to play chess for a wager, and to give great odds. His cup-draining was notoriously a congenital habit, and in his sect bribery and corruption were considered as a duty for the moment, and the making profit on bonds for debt, and on signing judicial decrees, as a positive command. But verily since there was no reference to faith or religion left, even this amount was something towards the removal of opprobrium.

During those days also the public prayers, and the *azān*, which was chanted five times a day for assembly to prayer in the state hall, were abolished. Names like *Aḥmad*, *Muḥammad*, *Muṭṭafa* &c. became offensive to His Majesty, who thereby wished to please the infidels outside, and the princesses inside the Harem, till after some time those courtiers, who had such names, changed them; and such names as *Yār Muḥammad*, *Muḥammad Khān*, were altered to *Raḥmat*. To call such miserable wretches by the name of our blessed Prophet would indeed be wrong, and there was not only room for improvement by altering their names, but it was even necessary to do so, according to the proverb, ‘It is wrong to put fine jewels on the neck of a pig.’ This destructive fire broke out first in
315 Āgrah and burnt down house and home of both great and small, and eventually the fire extended to the graves² of those who kindled it (may God abandon them!)—

¹ A hilly tract between Samarqand and Bukhārā. Blochm. p. 545 n.

² That is they went to hell.

"Thou, O man, fond of words,
 Who for some worthless handfuls
 Desertest the Faith of God,
 In the confidence of thine own sophistry,
 What weakness hast those seen in the Tradition,
 That thou wentest towards the irreligious?
 What fault didst thou find in the Qur'ān,
 That thou followest the present world?"

In Rabi'-us-sānī¹ of the year nine hundred and ninety the Sayyid Mīr Faṭḥ-ullāh of Shīrāz, who in the regions of Theology, Mathematics, and Physics² and in all branches of science both logical and traditional, and in talismans, and incantations, and discovering treasures, was without his equal in that age, in obedience to a *farmān* requiring his presence, left 'Ādil Khān of the Dak'hin, and came to Faṭḥpūr. The Khān Khānān, and Ḥakīm Abu-l-Faṭḥ in accordance with the Emperor's command went out to meet him, and brought him to the imperial presence. He was honoured with the post of *Çadr*, whose only duty was erasure, in order that he might confiscate the lands of the poor, not give them. When the Emperor heard that he had been an immediate pupil of Mīr Ghiyās-ud-dīn Maṇṣūr of Shīrāz, who had not been over strict in religious matters, he thought that Faṭḥ-ullāh would be only too glad to enter into his religious scheme. But Faṭḥ-ullāh was such a staunch Shī'ah, and at the same time such a worldly office-hunter, and such a worshipper of mammon and of the nobility, that he would not give up a jot of the tittles of bigoted Shī'ism. Even in the State hall he said with the greatest composure his Shī'ah prayers, a thing which no one else would have dared to do. His Majesty, therefore, put him among the class of the bigots, but he connived at his practices, because he thought 316 it desirable to encourage a man of such attainments and practical knowledge.

He married him to the younger daughter of Muzaffar Khān, and treating him with regal pomp associated him in the *vazīr*-ship with Rājah Todar Mal. And he, entering boldly into negotiations with the Rājah, came to an agreement with him. He became devoted to

¹ The fourth month.

² Aristotle's three-fold division of science, θεολογική, μαθηματική, φυσική.

A second order was given that the sun should be worshipped four times a day, in the morning and evening, and at noon and midnight. His Majesty had also one thousand and one Sanskrit names for the sun collected, and read them daily at noon, devoutly turning towards the sun; he then used to get hold of both ears, and turning himself quickly round about, used to strike the lower ends of his ears with his fists. He also adopted several other practices connected with sun-worship. He used to wear the Hindū mark on his forehead, and ordered the band to play at midnight and at break of day. Mosques and prayer-rooms were changed, into store-rooms and into Hindū guard-rooms. For the word *jamā'at*,¹ His Majesty used *jimā'*² and for *hayya 'ala*,³ he said *yalaḷā talalā*.⁴ The cemetery within the walls was allowed to run waste.

He gave the sum of one *lac* of rupees in ready money, together with some elephants, and precious stuffs and gold and gilded vessels to his illustrious mother, and in the same way to his aunt Gulbadam Bēgum, and to the other Bēgums.

He also issued a general order, that every person from the highest to the lowest should bring him a present.

In this year A'zam Khān, and other great Amīrs were appointed, and went and took possession of Tandah. Khāldī Khān Jabbārī, and Mirzā Bēg Qaqshāl deserted Ma'qūm Khān Kābulī, and came and had an interview with A'zam Khān. Then Ma'qūm Khān took refuge with some zamindārs, and, the whole province of Bengāl became settled and quiet.

In this year in order to gratify the feelings of the rulers of 323 the 'Dak'hin, His Majesty gave the governorship of Gujrāt to I'timād Khān, and made Shāh Abu-Turāb *Amīn*, and Khwājah Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad *Mīr bakhshī*, and Abu-l-Qāsim Tabrizī, brother of Moulānā 'Abd-ul-Qādir, the Emperor's tutor, he made *Dīwān*;

¹ Public prayer congregation.

² Cohabitation, copulation.

³ A phrase which occurs in the form of calling to prayer (*azān*).

⁴ A phrase used by drunkards in the height of mirth. *Blochm.*

and a number of people, such as Muḥammad Ḥusain, and Mīr Abu-l-Muzaffar, son of Ashraf Khān, and Mīr Hāshim, and Mīr Ḥālīḥ Da'i, and Sayyid Abu-Ishāq and others, he ordered to hold *jāgīrs* in that province.

In this year the Emperor who had imprisoned Shahbāz Khān on account of some insolence, having taken a strict account of all his improper and unprofitable behaviour, now set him free from the clutch of the Rājah,¹ and through the intervention and patronage of Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl he released him from captivity. On the seventeenth of Jamāda's-sāni² the Emperor sent him off to Bengāl, with instructions to hand over all that district to the jāgīrdārs, and to drive Ma'qūm Kābuli (of whose movements news had arrived) from the province of 'Isa,³ for "when the river of God comes, the river of 'Isā is useless;" and if in this context for *Nahr-u'-llāh* you read *Shahr-u'-llāh*, the saying is not without point and appropriateness.⁴ Meanwhile news arrived that Khān-i-A'zam had sent Shaikh Farīd Bokhārī to Qatlū Afghān Noḥānī,⁵ governor of Orīsā with a view to pacification. Qatlū on account of his confidence in the Shaikh Farīd's holy descent went out to meet him, and assumed the post of servant to him. After this bond of friendship had been tied, Bahadūr Kūr Farah⁶ one of the *zamīndārs* of Bengāl who was the main supporter of Qatlū's, coming up very unceremoniously wished to be hale fellow well met with the Shaikh, but the Shaikh assumed *zamīndār-ish* airs. Upon this Shāhū, son of Shaikh Rājū

¹ Rāi Sāl Darbārī. *Blochm.* p. 400.

² The 6th Month.

³ 'Isā Khān, *zamīndār* of Orīsā. *Blochm.* p. 352.

⁴ In the original proverb (Freytag i. p. 139) the name is Ma'qil, one of the companions of the prophet; Nahr-u-Ma'qil being the name of a river near Basrah. Our author seems to call the *Mahānadī* of Orīsā the *Nahr-u-'Isā* after the name of the *zamīndār* of the place. The month Rajab, which follows Jamāda's-sāni is also called *Shahr-i-Khudā*, i. q., *Shar-ullāh*. He means that when Rajab came in, Orīsā was conquered.

⁵ Generally spelt *Loḥānī*.

⁶ Another reading is *Kūrdah*. *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*, Elliot, V, p. 422, has *Gau-riya*.

“There are two fortunate heavenly bodies, the Sun. and the Moon,
And time hath found thy fair cheek a third,”

made but little resistance, and was defeated and shut himself up in the fortress of Barodah. And the chiefs of his army, and his auxiliaries with one consent went over to Muzaḥḥar.

Before this incident Shēr Khān¹ with 5,000 horse, had encamped in the neighbourhood of the village of Miḡānah, fifteen *cosses* from Patan. And Shihāb-ud-dīn Aḥmad Khān and I'timād Khān after much hesitation and cowardice determined to flee towards Jālor. But by the exertions of Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad they were restrained and remained at Patan.

The rest of the leaders with some veterans, who did not number 330 more than 2,000, all told, marched with Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad, and a great battle took place between the two armies. The breeze of victory and success fanned the banners of Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad, and Shēr Khān fled and retreated in haste towards Aḥmadābād. But, however much Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad strove to impress on the Amīrs the importance of following up the victory by proceeding against Aḥmadābād, they would not consent. And this was the very crisis of affairs, for they had not yet received news of the defeat of Qutb-ud-dīn Muḥammad Khān. In this battle a great deal of spoil fell into the hands of the Amīrs, so that they went to Kari and waited there twelve days waiting for the soldiers who had gone with the spoil to Patan. Meanwhile intelligence arrived, that Muzaḥḥar had bombarded the fortress of Barodah, which has a wall old as the building of his age, and weak² as the sense of Qutb-ud-dīn Muḥammad Khān. Qutb-ud-dīn Muḥammad Khān, the foundations of whose life were even weaker than theirs, sent out Zain-ud-dīn to Muzaḥḥar to make terms of capitulation. Muzaḥḥar at a moment's acquaintance treated Zain-ud-dīn as if he had known him for a thousand years. To Khwājagī Muḥammad Ḡālīḡ, a former Ḡadr,³ who had been appointed to accompany I'timād Khān, he from a

¹ Son of I'timād Khān, not Shēr Khān Fūlādī.

² We follow the Lakh'nou lithograph, which reads *sost* after Muḥammad Khān.

³ See Blochmann, p. 528.

feeling of generosity granted his life, and allowed him to go on a pilgrimage. And to Qutb-ud-dīn Muḥammad Khān, the eye of whose penetration was blinded by the injury of fate, and whose bark was foundering through calamity, he gave quarter, and so enticed him out of the fortress. He, little suspecting the treachery of Muzaffar, came out with the greatest weakness, and when he saw him offered him boundless salutations :—

“ Fate is a person which has five fingers,
When she wishes to get her will on any one,
She puts two on his eyes, and two on his ears,
And one on his lips, with the words ‘ Be silent ! ’ ”

Muzaffar at the time of their meeting advanced towards him with **331** greatest respect, and gave him a place on his own private sofa, and having treated him in a conciliatory manner he did not wish to take any steps towards his being put to death. At last at the instigation of one named Nawārī, a *zamīndār* of Rājpiplah, and others of the soldiery, he had the ground levelled over his head like his own buried Qārūn treasures.¹ Then going from Parwār to Baroṇch, he took that fort from the wife and dependants of Qutb-ud-dīn by capitulation. And there he found fourteen *lacs* of rupees from the treasury of Cambay, which I‘mād-ud-dīn, the *krorī*, had carried off, together with all the property animate and inanimate, and the immense private treasures of Qutb-ud-dīn Khān which exceeded 10 *krors*; and collected them together. And as for the other goods and chattels how can one describe them! And, which is very strange, Naurang Khān, the able son of Qutb-ud-dīn Khān, together with Qulij Khān, and Sharīf Khān, and Tulak Khān, and other Amīrs of Mālwah, in these harrowing circumstances² did not stir a foot from Nazarbār and Sulṭānpūr, which were very near, and so could not receive any news of his parents :—

“ When once you know that Destiny is all tangles,
Nobody is anything to you.”

¹ The Arabic name for Korah.

² Lakh‘nou lithographed edit. reads *واقعه*, not *تله*.

And the army, the number of which has been before mentioned, consisting of Moghuls, Afghāns and Gujrātīs, gathered round Muzaffar. On hearing this news Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad and the other commanders went to Patan, and joined those two¹ renowned Amīrs. There they kept expecting the arrival of Mirzā Khān, son of Bairām Khān Khānān, and all the Amīrs who had been appointed to go from the Court, and were marching towards Ahmadābād through Jālor and Patan. Mirzā Khān remained one day at Patan, and then marching on halted at Sarkich.² And Muzaffar returned from Baranah and committing the charge of the fortress of Baranah to his wife's brother, Naqir by name, and to a Rūmī named Jarkas,³ (who was a servant who had fled from the imperial Court,) and having pitched his tent in the neighbourhood of the burial place of Shāh B'hekan (?), (God sanctify his glorious tomb!), which was but two cosses distant, he there encamped. The next day a fierce battle took place, and Muzaffar was defeated, and retired to Ma'mūrābād. And Sayyid Hāshim Bārhan and Kizir Aqā the *wakil* of Mirzā Khān were stained in the gore of victory,⁴ and many men were wounded; and on the side of the enemy, who could number the slain! This action took place on the 16th of the forbidden month of Muḥarram in the year nine hundred and ninety-one (991). And, since Mirzā Khān before the victory had vowed that if the bride of victory showed her face from behind the veil, he would give all the goods and chattels that might be among the baggage, as a thank-offering for that event,⁵ to the poor and needy, with a view to paying this vow he ordered some of his servants to fix a price on all stuffs and horses and elephants and furniture, that he might expend that money in disbursements. These untrustworthy, deceitful, irreligious valuers set such a price on them, that not a fourth, or a fifth or even a tenth of the market-value came to the poor. And some things they gave away in order to

¹ Text 329 last four lines.

² Text 328. l. 6.

³ Possibly a Greek named George, Γεώργιος.

⁴ To become the "Rose of Victory" means to be slain in gaining a victory.

⁵ Rūnamā, "showing of face," "event" a *double entendre*.

bring joy to their own hearts, and to comfort their own hearts, and so it did! And some domestics,¹ who were servants of Mirzā Khān, such as Daulat Khān Afghān Lodī, Mullā Maḥmūdī, and others, represented to him: "Ever since we have been your attendants, we have not committed a fault. How comes it then that we should be so lorded over and oppressed by the imperial servants, and that they should always take precedence of us at assemblies, when they are really our inferiors with respect to salutations and other points of court etiquette? Mirzā Khān found these weak and fallacious arguments very agreeable and reasonable, and having got ready some dresses of honour and many horses destined for each one of the Amirs, and having caused their names to be written on them, 333 he prepared a great *levée*. He himself went into an attiring room, and became engrossed in the occupation of making his guests sit down, and in putting their dresses on them. Then he sent for Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad (who some time during the life of Bairām Khān *Khānān* had married his foster-sister) and put the case before him. He gave the following advice. These followers² of yours are possessed by a spirit of wrong-headedness in this matter; if the Emperor were to hear of it, what would he order? As far as salutation on your part is concerned, what reason would there be in his ordering you to salute Shihāb-ud-dīn Khān who is your superior both from the dignity of commanding 5,000 and also from being older in years³? and similarly, how would it be right for him to order I'timād Khān, who once upon a time was commander of 20,000 horse, to salute you? And since Pāyandah Muḥammad Khān Moghul has most unmistakably declared himself opposed to it, and the others are not in the least worth considering, you had better ignore the matter altogether. Mirzā Khān accepted this advice, and gave up the pretension.

¹ See p. 194 note 4.

² Lak'hnou ed. reads تبيينا a corruption of Ar. تبايع with addition of Pers. plural termination.

³ Since you would do it naturally without being ordered.

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